

THE GLORIOUS DEEDS OF PŪRṆA

A TRANSLATION AND STUDY OF THE *PŪRṆĀVADĀNA*

Joel Tatelman

THE GLORIOUS DEEDS OF PŪRṆA

General Editors:
Charles S. Prebish and Damien Keown

The Curzon Critical Studies in Buddhism Series is a comprehensive study of the Buddhist tradition. The series explores this complex and extensive tradition from a variety of perspectives, using a range of different methodologies.

The Series is diverse in its focus, including historical studies, textual translations and commentaries, sociological investigations, bibliographic studies, and considerations of religious practice as an expression of Buddhism's integral religiosity. It also presents materials on modern intellectual historical studies, including the role of Buddhist thought and scholarship in a contemporary, critical context and in the light of current social issues. The series is expansive and imaginative in scope, spanning more than two and a half millennia of Buddhist history. It is receptive to all research works that inform and advance our knowledge and understanding of the Buddhist tradition. The series maintains the highest standards of scholarship and promotes the application of innovative methodologies and research methods.

THE REFLEXIVE NATURE OF AWARENESS
A Tibetan Madhyamaka Defence
Paul Williams

BUDDHISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS
Edited by Damien Keown, Charles Prebish, Wayne Husted

ALTRUISM AND REALITY
Studies in the Philosophy of the Bodhicaryavatara
Paul Williams

WOMEN IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE BUDDHA
Kathryn R. Blackstone

THE RESONANCE OF EMPTINESS
A Buddhist Inspiration for Contemporary Psychotherapy
Gay Watson

IMAGING WISDOM
Seeing and Knowing in the Art of Indian Buddhism
Jacob N. Kinnard

AMERICAN BUDDHISM
Methods and Findings in Recent Scholarship
Edited by Duncan Ryuken Williams and Christopher Queen

PAIN AND ITS ENDING
The Four Noble Truths in the Theravāda Buddhist Canon

Carol S. Anderson

THE SOUND OF LIBERATING TRUTH
Buddhist-Christian Dialogues in Honor of Frederick J. Streng
Edited by Sallie B. King and Paul O. Ingram

BUDDHIST THEOLOGY
Critical Reflections by Contemporary Buddhist Scholars
Edited by Roger R. Jackson and John J. Makransky

EMPTINESS APPRAISED
A Critical Study of Nāgārjuna's Philosophy
David F. Burton

THE GLORIOUS DEEDS OF PŪRṆA
A Translation and Study of the Pūrṇāvadāna
Joel Tatelman

THE GLORIOUS DEEDS OF PŪRṆA

A Translation and Study of the Pūrṇāvadāna

Joel Tatelman

ROUTLEDGE
Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 2000
by Curzon Press

Published 2013 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY, 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Typeset in Sabon by LaserScript Ltd, Mitcham, Surrey

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record of this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book has been requested

ISBN 13: 978-0-700-71082-9 (hbk)

For Sara Añjalī Tatelman, who loves stories.

And for Julie Bongers, Mark Dennis, Sophea Mouth and Joseph Rodenberg, graduate students in the Department of South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin–Madison, who so patiently read Pūrṇa-stories with me.

God made man because he loves stories. Elias Canetti.

You are what you do. Xena, Warrior Princess.

Contents

Acknowledgements

This study represents an extensive revision of a thesis approved for the M.A. in Religious Studies, McMaster University, 1988.

While the idea of taking a literary approach to the study of the Indian Buddhist textual tradition belongs to me alone, I owe the suggestion to work on the Pūrṇāvadāna to my then-supervisor and Sanskrit teacher, Phyllis Granoff. In revising the thesis for publication, I was not surprised to find that the comments and recommendations she made a decade ago had retained every bit of their original value. If there is any merit in this study, much of it belongs to her.

To Graeme MacQueen, who co-supervised the thesis and who introduced me to the study of Indian Buddhism and to the importance of methodological issues, I am grateful for many valuable conversations and much sage advice.

For much has wit, wisdom and friendship, which, over the years, have proved every bit as valuable as wise and rigorous teachers, I wish to record my gratitude to my then-fellow graduate students – Mavis Fenn (St. Paul's College, University of Waterloo), Hillary Rodrigues (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Lethbridge), James Mullins (Dept. of Religion, University of Saskatchewan) and Kate Blackstone (Dept. of Religon, University of Manitoba).

For his pioneering and inspiring work on the avadāna literature and for venturing the opinion that my old thesis might merit a publisher's consideration, I wish to record a special thanks to John Strong (Dept. of Philosophy and Religion, Bates College).

To the Editors of the Curzon Critical Studies in Buddhism Series – Charles Prebish (Religious Studies Program, Pennsylvania State University) and Damien Keown (Goldsmith's College, London) – I am especially grateful, first for accepting this study for publication and then for their patience in waiting for the manuscript to be delivered.

Last but always most, I wish to thank Aizhen Tatelman for enduring not only the research and writing that went into the original thesis, but the prolonged labour pains which accompanied its revision.

ABBREVIATIONS

See the Bibliography for full publication information. Other primary sources are cited by title and editor/translator. Secondary sources are cited by author and date of publication.

AA	Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā: ed. Prasad 1976.
AbhidhK	Abhidharmakośa: tr. La Vallée Poussin 1923–31.
AN	Aṅguttaranikāya: ed. Morris-Hardy 1885–1900.
Ap	Apadāna: ed. Lilley 1925–27.
Apte	Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Apte 1957.
Avś	Avadānaśataka: ed. Speyer 1902–09, tr. Feer 1891.
BAKL	Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā: ed. Vaidya 1959a.
Bc	Buddhacarita: ed.-tr. Johnson [1935–37] 1984.
BD	Book of the Discipline: tr. Horner 1938–66.
BL	Buddhist Legends: tr. Burlingame 1921.
DhpA	Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā: ed. Norman 1906–15.
Divy	Divyāvadāna: ed. Cowell-Neil 1886, Vaidya 1959a (References are to Vaidya unless otherwise specified.)
DN	Dīghanīkāya: ed. Rhys Davids-Carpenter 1880–1910
DPPN	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names: Malalasekera, 1937–38.
GS	Gradual Sayings: tr. Woodward-Hare 1932–36.
Jā	Jātakaṭṭhakathā: Fausbøll 1877–97, tr. Cowell et al 1895.
KS	Kindred Sayings: tr. Woodward-Rhys Davids 1917–1930.
LV	Lalitavistara: ed. Vaidya 1958b, tr. Bays 1983.
MA	Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā: ed. Horner et al 1922–38.
MLD	Middle Length Discourses: tr. Ñāṇamoli-Bodhi 1995.
MLS	Middle Length Sayings: tr. Horner 1954–59.
MN	Majjhimanikāya: ed. Trenckner et al 1888–1910.
Mppś	Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra: tr. Lamotte 1944–80.
MSV	Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya.
Mv	Mahāvastu: ed. Senart 1882–97, tr. Jones 1949–56.
MW	Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Monier-Williams 1899.
NK	Nidānakathā (Jā i.2–92): tr. Jayawickrama 1990.
PED	Pāli-English Dictionary: Rhys Davids-Stede 1921–25.
SA	Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā: ed. Woodward 1929–37.
ŚAV	Śayanāsanavastu and Adhikaraṇavastu: ed. Gnoli 1978.
SBV	Saṅghabhedavastu: ed. Gnoli 1977–78.
SN	Saṃyuttanikāya: ed. Feer 1884–98.
SP	Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: ed. Vaidya 1960, tr. Kern 1884.
T	Taishô shinshū daizôkyô: Takakusu-Watanabe 1924–34. (Citation format: text number, fascicle [chüan]: volume, page, register [a-b-c], line[s]).
ThagA	Theragāthaṭṭhakathā: ed. Chaudhary 1976.
THIH	Thus Have I Heard: tr. Walshe 1987.

Vin	Theravāda Vinaya: ed. Oldenberg 1879–83.
VT	Vinaya Texts: tr. Rhys Davids-Oldenberg 1882–85.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Buddhist tradition identifies the monk Pūrṇa (Puṇṇa)[1] of Śūrpāraka (Suppāraka)[2] as the great evangelist who introduced Buddhism to the land of Śroṇāparāntaka (Sunāparanta),[3] which corresponds to much of the present Indian state of Gujerat. Śūrpāraka City,[4] for many centuries a busy seaport and commercial centre and principal city of Śroṇāparāntaka, survives today as the village of Sopāra, its channel to the sea silted up since the seventeenth century.[5]

The earliest datable evidence from Śūrpāraka, circa 250 B.C.E., are fragments of Aśoka's Major Rock Edicts VIII and IX.[6] The presence of these suggests that the city had been an important centre for some time before that – how long before is impossible to say. The Mahābhārata mentions Śūrpāraka as a site of religious importance (tīrtha).[7] According to the fourth-to-fifth-century Theravādin chronicles, it was from Suppāraka that Prince Vijaya, during the reign of Aśoka, led the first settlers from India to Sri Lanka.[8]

Other evidence indicates that Śūrpāraka was an active Buddhist centre for at least the first five centuries of the Common Era.[9] Seven Prakrit cave inscriptions mention Śūrpāraka (Sopāra). 1. The earliest, from the Shrine (caitya) Hall at Kārli, some fifty miles south of Śūrpāraka, and dated circa 50 C.E., records the donation of a pillar by Bhadanta Sātimita, a Buddhist teacher (bhāṇaka) from Sopāra, who belonged to the Dharmottarīya branch of the Vātsīputrīyas.[10] 2. From a cave inscription at Nāsik, about fifty miles inland from Śūrpāraka, we learn that Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of the Scythian satrap Nahapāna, who ruled the western coast between 119 and 125 C.E., donated two buildings and eight thousand coconut saplings to the congregation of Carakas at the Rāmatīrtha Monastery in Sopāra.[11] 3. From Kānheri, twenty miles south of Śūrpāraka, a mid-second century inscription records that Samika, a merchant (negama) and Buddhist lay-disciple (upāsaka) from Sopāra, donated Cave VII and a cistern to the Buddhist Order at Kānheri.[12] 4. Also from Kānheri and also dated circa 150 C.E., another inscription states that Puṇaka, a guild-leader (seṭṭhi) from Sopāra, donated a reservoir to the Order.[13] 5. From the late second century, an unidentified patron from Sopāra donated a cistern at Nānāghat, seventy miles inland from Śūrpāraka.[14] 6. Again to the Kānheri Saṃgha, in 230 C.E., Mudapāla, a Sopāra merchant, donated agricultural land and a number of buildings.[15] 7. A Kānheri inscription from the mid-fifth century (patron's name illegible) records the donation of three monastic cells to a monastery at Sopāra.[16] Finally, a second-century stūpa containing miniatures of Śākyamuni, the six Buddhas of the past and the Bodhisattva Maitreya, was found in Śūrpāraka itself.[17]

The cave monastaries at Kānheri near Śūrpāraka were inhabited up to the ninth century[18] and the city itself receives mention in Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain literature right up until the fifteenth century.[19] During the last centuries B.C.E. and the first several centuries C.E., Śūrpāraka maintained trade relations with Gangetic India, the Mediterranean, Arabia and Southeast Asia.[20]

The name Aparānta (Aparanta), which appears in Aśoka's fifth rock edict, appears to be the older name for Śroṇāparāntaka. The Arthaśāstra, generally assigned to the fourth century B.C.E., refers to the fine cotton cloth produced in Aparānta.[21] Again, according to the Theravādin chronicles, during Aśoka's reign the Elder Moggaliputtatissa despatched Yonaka Dhammarakkhita to spread the Dhamma in Aparanta.[22] This, however, is not confirmed in the literature of other Buddhist schools.[23] A late (first century B.C.E.) Theravādin canonical text, the Apadāna, mentions an established trade-route between Suppāraka and Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Suvarṇabhūmi), which has been identified with present-day Burma or Malaysia.[24]

Whatever the exact dates, these meetings of Buddhism and business, monks and merchants, constitute the historical context out of which arose such stories as that of Pūrṇa.

A variety of sources concur in portraying Pūrṇa as one of the Buddha's immediate disciples, entrusted by the Master himself with the task of converting his homeland. Although we have no verifiable evidence that Buddhism spread beyond the Ganges Basin during the Buddha's lifetime, it is not impossible that, as several traditional accounts have it, Pūrṇa was a contemporary of the the Buddha who joined the Order of Monks while on a business trip to Śrāvastī. More likely, the historical Pūrṇa (assuming there was one) lived sometime during the Mauryan period (324–187 B.C.E.), began his career as a merchant in Śūrpāraka, later in life joined the Buddhist Order in one of the major centres of northern India and, sometime after that, returned home, where he was instrumental in establishing a viable local Buddhist tradition.[25] However, it is also possible that sometime around the beginning of the Common Era, imaginative monks, inspired by the composition of the great biographies of the Buddha and by the character and accomplishments of a revered teacher, created a composite character – 'Pūrṇa, Apostie to the Śroṇāparāntakans' – to whom, over time and with much borrowing between different local Saṃghas, they attributed a variety of adventures in order to glorify and authenticate their thriving local Buddhist tradition. Exactly what happened we will probably never know. Fortunately, our focus here is narrative traditions, not historical events.

The particular account of Pūrṇa's life which is examined in this study is the Pūrṇāvadāna or 'Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa,' a biography of the saint which in its extant Sanskrit recension occurs as the second story in the Divyāvadāna. I propose to study the Pūrṇāvadāna first and foremost as a work of literary art, not unlike a literary critic might study a novel by Conrad or Woolf, much as many scholars now study Biblical narrative. Accordingly, the second part of this introduction discusses methodological issues in some detail. This is followed, in Chapter II, by an annotated translation of the text and, in Chapter III, by a detailed literary analysis. After brief concluding remarks, the appendices

present translations of four other versions of the life of Pūrṇa: two from the Theravādin Commentaries (aṭṭhakathā); one, very much based on the Pūrṇāvadāna but written in a more formal poetic style, from the eleventh-century Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra; and one which exhibits a number of curious features not found in any of the others, from the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya.

In studying the Pūrṇāvadāna, I shall be primarily concerned with literary and religious meaning rather than historical truth – though seeking the former in no way precludes, and sometimes enhances, one's understanding of the latter. Nevertheless it is axiomatic for literary analysis that every text requires a context. Texts do not occur in vacuums: they are composed or redacted in specific literary, historical and cultural environments to which, explicitly or implicitly, they constantly allude and the conventions of which they constantly employ. For the Pūrṇāvadāna the overarching contexts are the history, doctrines and practices of Indian and Sinhalese Buddhism and the history of India prior to the seventh century. Of these, I shall assume, the reader possesses some general knowledge. Nevertheless, it may not be out of place here to say something about the history of the term avadāna and about the development of the avadānas as a Buddhist literary genre.

If the title of the 'Life' of Pūrṇa with which we are concerned is Pūrṇa-Avadāna and it occurs as the second story in a collection entitled Divya-Avadāna, what, then, is an avadāna? What does the term mean? Did its meaning, as often happens in the history of words, change over time? How may we define avadāna as a genre of Buddhist literature? To begin with, we may note that John Strong, the contemporary scholar who has done the most interpretive work on the early Sanskrit avadāna literature, translates avadāna as 'karmic history' or 'karmic biography.' In his study of the legend of the emperor Aśoka (Aśokāvadāna), he offers the following definition:

> An avadāna is a narrative of the religious deeds of an individual and is primarily intended to illustrate the workings of karma and the values of faith and devotion. It can often be moralistic in tone, but at the same time there is no denying that it has a certain entertainment value. The avadānas were and are still used by Buddhist preachers in popular sermons and as such have often been compared to the jātakas (stories of the Buddha's previous lives). Unlike the jātakas, however, the main protagonist of the avadāna is usually not the Buddha himself, but a more ordinary individual, often a layman.[26]

Such a definition is consistent with those offered by such pioneering scholars as Léon Feer and J.S. Speyer, who also specify that avadānas invariably present an individual's circumstances in his or her present life as the result of a deed or deeds in a previous birth.[27] This is apparently confirmed by the mediaeval avadāna specialists. In a story from one of the late anthologies, the Kalpadrumāvadānamālā, which retells in verse stories from the much earlier Avadānaśataka, we read: "From virtue, beings enjoy happiness, from vice, they experience misery; from deeds which partake of both, they experience both: so say the Avadānists."[28] Later in the same text, the narrator states:

"By the standards of Dharma there is no authority whatever in birth. So teach the Buddhist Avadāna experts."[29]

In its root etymological sense, avadāna, and its Pāli form, apadāna, mean 'cutting off'.[30] In Brahmanical ritual, the term was specialised to mean that portion of the sacrifice (havis) which is offered to the gods. In the Aggañña-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya and in a parallel passage in the Lokottaravādin-Mahāsāṃghika Mahāvastu, apadāna and avadāna, respectively, are given the specialized agricultural sense of 'reaping' or 'harvesting'.[31] By a process of semantic development which, at least for Pāli, has been clearly delineated, this agricultural sense of the term became identified with the central Buddhist doctrine of karman, the moral causality of volitional action, in which the deeds one 'sows,' performs, in a given birth, 'bear fruit' or are 'harvested,' produce their results, in subsequent births. In the predominantly agricultural societies of ancient and mediaeval South Asia, employing such universally understood concepts as doctrinal terms made perfect sense. Hence we find the pervasive doctrinal terms, karma-phala, 'the fruit of actions' and karma-vipāka, 'the ripening of actions,' both of which denote that morally or religiously significant actions in one birth determine or at least influence circumstances in later births. Moreover, as Sally Cutler has pointed out, other early sources employ agricultural terminology metaphorically to illustrate doctrinal points. In the Theravādin Suttanipāta, the Buddha explains to the farmer Kasibhāradvāja who has accused him of being an unproductive beggar: "Faith is the seed, asceticism is the rain, wisdom is my yoke and plough; modesty is the pole, mind is the [yoke-]tie, awareness is my ploughshare and goad."[32] Similarly, in the Aṅguttara-nikāya, the Buddha states that "karma is the field, consciousness the seed, craving the moisture [which makes the seed grow]."[33]

By stages, then, avadāna came to denote a karmically significant deed – good or evil – and, eventually, "one's 'harvest'," an account or narrative of such deeds; that is to say, a biography which depicts the workings of karma in the life of an individual or individuals. Interestingly enough, where the Aggañña-sutta description of a field of rice reads nāpadānaṃ paññayati, 'no reaping was perceived' and its Mahāsāṃghika counterpart reads avadānaṃ cāsya na prajñāyati, 'and its reaping was not perceived,' the Mūlasarvāstivādin recension reads alūnaś ca prajñāyate, 'and it was perceived to be uncut'.[34] This raises the possbility that the redactors of this Vinaya already understood the term avadāna as 'karmically significant deed' or even as a narrative of such deeds and on that basis replaced avadāna with the more 'appropriate' lūna. In any case, just as the Bible speaks of human actions in terms of sowing and reaping, so in the Indian Buddhist tradition a variant of the same metaphor came to be used to describe morally, that is to say, karmically significant deeds as well as the biographical narratives which recount them.

The earliest extant Sanskrit lexicon, the sixth-century Amarakośa or Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, compiled by the Buddhist Amarasiṃha, defines avadāna as karma vṛttam, 'past action'.[35] The Amarakośa attracted numerous commentaries. Those which have survived are uniformly late – twelfth to fourteenth century – but except for the fact that a number seek to derive avadāna/apadāna from avadāyati, 'cleanse, purify' rather

than from ava-dyati, 'cut, remove, divide,' most record the abovementioned meanings. Maurice Winternitz examined this literature and concluded that the fundamental meaning of both nouns is indeed karman, 'deed, action,' but with the following range of meanings: karma vṛttam, ativṛttam, 'past deed'; parākramam karma, 'heroic deed'; adbhu-takarma, 'wonderful' or 'miraculous deed'; śuddhaṃ karma, 'pure' or 'virtuous deed'; and itivṛtta, 'occurrence, history'.[36] It does not take a great effort of imagination to perceive that all these senses of avadāna may be classified under the one rubric of 'karmically significant deeds'. Not surprisingly, in classical Sanskrit poetry, which does not share the overriding concern with the doctrine of karma characteristic of Buddhist literature, avadāna typically means 'heroic' or 'noble' deed.[37] 'The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa,' my translation of Pūrṇāvadāna, comes closer to this than a purely etymological translation, and is meant to capture or at least allude to a more dramatic sense of Pūrṇa as spiritual hero than is suggested by 'karmic biography'.

Thus the evidence from the Aggañña-sutta with its parallel versions, from elsewhere in Pāli, and from Sanskrit lexicography offers a plausible explanation for both the original meaning of avadāna and its eventual employment as the name of a Buddhist literary genre. On the other hand, it appears that Buddhist scholastics and, perhaps through their influence, also Chinese translators, lost sight of the history of the word, which came to be interpreted as a synonym for dṛṣṭānta (Chinese: p'i-yü), 'comparison,' 'example,' 'parable,' while the meaning 'narrative of previous births of the Buddha's disciples' came to be applied to itivṛttaka. However, since avadānas are accounts of exemplary lives, they certainly ąualify as examples or parables, and since our larger project is not affected, I shall not pursue here what is a complex and perhaps unresolvable issue.[38]

A tripartate narrative structure common to most jātakas and avadānas reflects the always-present concern to portray the 'effects of deeds' from one birth to another: like jātakas, avadānas are comprised of a 'story of the present' (pratyutpannavastu), a 'story of the past' (atītavastu) and a 'juncture' (samavadhāna)[39] where characters in the story of the past are identified as former births of characters in the story of the present. For the 'story of the past' some avadānas substitute a 'prediction' (vyākaraṇa): typically, at the conclusion of the story, when the protagonist vows to become a Buddha or pratyekabuddha or arhat, the Buddha confirms the accuracy of the vow and reveals the name by which that Awakened individual will be known.[40] It will be apparent that an avadāna requires a special kind of 'omniscient' narrator, one whose awareness penetrates myriads of aeons into past and future. Thus only the Buddha or an arhat, a disciple who has attained Awakening, can narrate an avadāna. It is enough, however, to affirm that the story has been handed down by a succession of Awakened teachers. The precursors to and models for all this are two: the jātakas, stories of the Buddha's previous births, and the stories of others' past births which the Buddha tells in various sūtras.[41]

Within the foregoing parameters, we find considerable diversity. This is in part because of the different literary streams which fed into this literature. The Indian Buddhist tradition produced avadānas from the second century B.C.E. at least until the eleventh century C.E.[42], but probably up until its virtual demise in the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries. Even then, Newar (Nepalese) authors continued to compose avadānas in Sanskrit and Theravādin authors in Pāli, while in Nepal, Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, even now avadānas and avadāna-like narratives contribute to the vernacular literatures. Indeed, in some traditional contexts, jātakas and avadānas carried the force of legal precedent.

The earliest verse avadānas, like the Theravādin Apadāna and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Sthavirāvadāna[43] are autobiographical verse narratives, attributed to individual monks and nuns. As in jātakas, the 'story of the present' functions principally as a narrative frame within which to tell the 'story of the past'. These collections represent a late stage in the old pan-Indian tradition of 'ascetic poetry' known from Buddhist works like the Jātaka, Suttanipāta, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā and Sthavirāvadāna.[44] The legends which grew up around the figure of the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka,[45] the earliest of which also predate the Common Era,[46] provided another narrative model for the growing avadāna tradition.[47] The literary form here is prose mixed with verse, but just as importantly, and in contrast to the early verse avadānas, while these legends do not ignore Aśoka's previous births, they devote far more attention to his present life, particularly to his exercise of power, family problems, relations with the monk Upagupta and his religious activities.[48]

The anonymous stories included in the first-to-second century, extra-canonical anthologies like the Avadānaśataka[49] and Karmaśataka[50] as well as many in the third-to-fourth century Divyavadāna[51] are similarly composed in prose interspersed with verses.[52] The prose passages in turn are of two broad types: a 'canonical' or 'religious' style which freąuently incorporates or imitates the hieratic, oral, repetitive style of the canon and a 'folk-tale' or 'secular' style distinctive for its short matter-of-fact descriptions and terse, often evocative, dialogue. Overall, the stories of the Avadānaśataka are the shortest, most formulaic and 'mechanical,' those of the Karmaśataka less so and those of the Divyāvadāna the most original and diverse. Many Avadānaśataka stories retain the emphasis on the past-life narrative, fewer Karmaśataka stories, until, in many Divyāvadāna narratives, the proportion is quite reversed. The authors of the Koṭikarṇāvadāna, Pūrṇāvadāna, Aśokāvadāna and Mākandikāvadāna,[53] to name only a few, shrink the 'story of the past' almost to nothing, while the 'story of the present' becomes the true raison d'être of the tale. Attention has shifted away from deeds in previous births to actions in the here-and-now. Doctrinally, the story of the past still represents the morally significant deed (karman) and the story of the present still represents its consequences (karma-vipāka), but, as we shall see in the Pūrṇāvadāna, concentrating on the protagonist's life in the present enabled authors to draw more freely upon a rich tradition of 'secular' or 'popular' literature – and, we must assume, on characteristic circumstances in the lives of actual men and women. This is also reflected in the number of characters who are now lay-people – often unknown from the canonical literature – rather than famous saints.[54]

Here, too, should be mentioned the many stories in the Theravādin commentaries (aṭṭhakatbās) which are avadānas in all but name.[55] The Mūlasarvāstivādins as well as

other Buddhist schools whose avadāna collections are preserved in Chinese, were happy, it seems, to circulate these narratives in anthologies and as independent works.[56] The former, in particular, also incorporated them into their Vinaya on a massive scale.[57] In general, the textually more conservative Theravādins restricted them to their commentaries on the canonical texts. As we shall see in the case of the Pūrṇāvadāna, parallel versions of many avadāna narratives find their place, among the Theravādins, in the aṭṭhakatbās. For example, such late Theravādin canonical works as the Petavatthu, 'Stories of the Hungry Ghosts' and Vimānavatthu, 'Stories of Divine Abodes',[58] correspond, respectively, to Avadānaśataka Books V and VI. As with the Buddha-biography,[59] these freąuently appear to be older (or at least less developed).

Learned poet-scholars, usually monks, also composed avadānas. Just as Hindu poets retold stories from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas, Buddhist poets retold their sacred stories: the past and present lives of the Buddha and his disciples. Buddhism's (and perhaps India's) first great classical poet, the first-century Aśvaghoṣa, appears to have restricted his narratives to 'stories of the present'. Of his works, only the first half of his life of the Buddha (Buddhacarita), his poem about the Buddha's cousin Nanda (Saundarananda) and a few fragments of a nine-act play about Śāriputra, have come down to us in Sanskrit.[60] The second-century poet Kumāralāta, in his Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, adapted the prose-and-verse format to the demands of belles-lettres.[61] Unfortunately, only fragments of the Sanskrit have survived. Kumāralāta's fourth-to-eighth century successors, Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta all composed 'ornate poetry' (kāvya) in the form of Jātakamālās, 'Garlands of Birth-Stories,' the plots of which were invariably taken from tradition. These and other poets pioneered and developed the campū, a literary genre which combines sophisticated verse (padya) with artful and learned prose (gadya). Although, historically, the canonical jātakas precede the avadānas, by Āryaśūra's time, jātaka had come to be understood as a special type of avadāna; hence these works are also called Bodhisattvā-vadānamālās.[62] Much later, the eleventh-century Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra, in his Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā, drew on the huge store of narrative materiał in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya to compose, in a style more epic and less ornate than the classical Jātakamālās, one hundred and eight verse jātakas and avadānas.

Another avadāna sub-genre is the avadānamālās, 'garlands of avadānas'. These are anonymous, traditional works composed in epic-purāṇic-style verse and displaying pronounced Mahāvāna influence. The Kalpadrumāvadānamālā,[63] Ratnāvadānamālā and Aśokāvadānamālā retell in a more or less systematic way stories from the Avadānaśataka.[64] In a similar way, the Divyāvadānamālā retells the Divyāvadāna narratives, but from a text which corresponds only partly to the published editions.[65] As these extensive works (seven to ten thousand verses) remain mostly in manuscript, what we do know is fairly superficial. Speyer estimated their dates of composition as somewhere between 400 and 1000 C.E., but this is not enormously helpful. We do know that the Aśokāvadānamālā, at least in its present form, postdates Kṣmendra (mid-eleventh century) because it incorporates many verses from the

Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā. There are other avadāna compilations which we know were composed in Nepal between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. These include the Dvāvim-śatyavadānakathā,[66] which also retells some Avadānaśataka stories; the Vicitrakarṇikāvadānamālā; the Mahajjātakamālā,[67] half of which paraphrases a Māhāyana sūtra, the Karuṇāpuṇḍar-īka;[68] and the Bhadrakalpāvadāna,[69] which retells and greatly expands the story of the Buddha's return to Kapilavastu as set forth in the final volume of the Mahāvastu. Together with the Aśokāvadānamālā,[70] these Nepalese (Newar) works are also notable for incorporating verbatim generous portions of earlier texts, particularly those of named authors: Āryaśūra, Haribhatta, Gopadatta, Śāntideva, Kṣemendra. Not surprisingly, they reflect the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna Buddhism of late mediaeval Nepal.

The foregoing survey is not meant to be comprehensive, even with respect to published works in Sanskrit and Pāli. It is merely hoped these remarks will assist the reader in placing the Pūrṇāvadāna within the overall literary history of the avadāna genre. Finally, before embarking upon a similarly selective survey of narratives concerning Pūrṇa of Śūrpāraka, let us briefly consider three passages from the Divyāvadāna which, while nothing like historical evidence, hint at how avadānas may have actually been used in practice. The first concerns the arhat Upagupta, a very important figure in the avadāna literature. Like Pūrṇa and his own teacher Śāṇavāsin, Upagupta is a merchant-turned-monk; like Pūrṇa, his legend spread from India to Southeast Asia.[71] The Aśokāvadāna presents Upagupta as a 'Buddha without the marks' (alaksaṇakabuddha)[72] and as Aśoka's spiritual preceptor. His legends, ably studied by John Strong in a number of publications, portray him as a great meditator and skilful teacher of devout temperament and as the 'conqueror of Māra'. He also appears in all avadānamālās as a narrative persona: as Strong has shown, the presence of Upagupta 'guarantees' the authenticity of the textual transmission, for where Upagupta is, Māra cannot be.[73] The passage with which we are here concerned comes from the Paṃśupradānāvadāna (XXVI), the first story in the Aśokāvadāna, where the narrator is recounting Upagupta's first attempt at preaching. Somewhat at a loss how to proceed, he meditates on how the Buddha himself expounded the Dharma and 'sees' that the Master customarily began by giving a 'step-by-step discourse' and then proceeded to an 'elucidation of the Truths'. In this particular episode Māra repeatedly interferes, but Upagupta does eventually prevail.[74]

What then, one might ask, is a 'step-by-step discourse' (pūrvakālakaraṇīyā kathā)? Literally, it is a discourse or talk (kathā) which is to be performed (karaṇīya) at an earlier time (pūrva-kāla), i.e., prior to the 'exposition of the Truths'. Of what does such a talk consist? According to the Theravādin sources, which use the term 'gradual teaching' or 'progressive instruction' (anupubbikathā; Skt. anupūrvīkathā), this means "talk on giving, talk on virtue, talk on the heavens" as well as explaining "the danger, degradation, and defilement in sensual pleasures and the blessing of renunciation."[75] This perhaps alerts us to the content of such discourses, but what form might they have taken? We do not have to look far to see. The Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā is a commentary on the 'Discourse on the Exhortation of Puṇṇa,' a Majjhima-nikāya text which presents Puṇṇa of Sunāparanta taking instruction from the Buddha. Later we shall look more closely at this

commentary, but for now it is enough to point out that it is a short biography of Puṇṇa introduced by the statement, "Here follows the progressive instruction (anupubbikathā)."[76] Whether or not the redactors of the sūtras had something else in mind, it is clear that here 'progressive instruction' means the narrative of an ideal (or in some way representative) life. In other words, one begins to teach Dharma by telling avadāna stories.[77]

Similarly, the Sabasodgatāvadāna depicts the Buddha teaching monks how to paint the 'Wheel of Life' (pañcagaṇḍaka cakra = saṃsāramaṇḍala, bhavacakra), familiar in the modern West from numerous Tibetan thangkas. According to the story, monks charged with instructing the laity placed this pictorial representation of the realms of rebirth (gatis) and of the chain of causation (pratītyasamutpāda) which drives the cycle of birth-and-death at the entrance to their monasteries. It is hard to imagine a more appropriate 'visual backdrop' for the relating of avadāna stories;[78] it is hard to believe that such stories would not have entered into such instruction.

The third passage, from the Mākandikāvadāna, offers a fascinating glimpse of how Buddhist women of the upper classes may have studied the 'Word of the Buddha' in the privacy of their own homes. The fact that the description is offered casually, almost in passing, strengthens rather than weakens the case for supposing it may allude to some historical reality. Here Mākandika (Pāli: Māgandiya) learns that in the evenings the women of the house read the Buddhist scriptures (buddbavacana) by lamplight and that, moreover, like assiduous students everywhere, they take notes from their reading.[79] No specific texts are mentioned, but we should not be surprised if avadānas were among them. In any case, this implies a much livelier engagement in the 'serious' aspects of spiritual cultivation than scholars have generally accorded the Buddhist laity.

And now to the story of Pūrṇa. The most elaborate account of Pūrṇa's career is found in the Bhaiṣajyavastu division of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayapitaka.[80] Under the title of 'Pūrṇāvadāna,' the same work also occurs as the second chapter in the Divyāvadāna,[81] an anthology of thirty-eight biographical narratives generally thought to have been compiled in the third or fourth century. Fully half of the Divyāvadāna narratives are found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, while nine others occur in other Vinayas.[82] The three chapters which make up the Aśokāvadāna are taken from Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.[83] Two of the stories, Chapters XII and XXXIV, are Mahāyāna sūtras of uncertain origin. If, as Konrad Klaus allows, Chapter XXXVIII may be assigned to the poet Gopadatta, we have strong evidence that the Divyāvadāna as we have it was compiled as late as the eighth century.[84] However, the several manuscripts entitled Divyāvadāna diverge widely from each other. Yutaka Iwamoto observed that there are only seven stories which occur in every manuscript and that, of these, only two, the Koṭikarṇāvadāna and the Pūrṇāvadāna, always occur in the same place, as the first and second stories respectively. In fact, Iwamoto defines Divyāvadāna as a collection of Sanskrit avadānas the first two stories of which are the Koṭikarṇāvadāna and Pūrṇāvadāna[85]

There also exists a body of narrative paintings which illustrate in great detail what appears to be the same version of the Pūrṇa-story found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya

and Divyāvadāna. These come from the cave-monasteries of Ajaṇṭā, in what would have been ancient Śroṇāparāntaka itself, and from Kizil in Central Asia. The paintings have been dated, with rather more certainty than the purely textual sources, to the late fifth and late sixth centuries respectively.[86]

Even if it were demonstrated that the Mūlasarvāstivādin account of Pūrṇa's life cannot be dated, as some scholars have argued, earlier than the fourth or fifth century; even, for that matter, if it were indisputably proven that no such person as Pūrṇa ever lived, the principal aims of the present study would scarcely be compromised. For our interests here are literary and religious rather than historical. Whatever may be the historical facts, it is clear that a number of Indian Buddhist traditions considered Pūrṇa an important, paradigmatic figure. Even the laconic Mūlasarvās-tivādin and Theravādin sūtra accounts extol Pūrṇa's forebearance (kṣānti), his numerous conversions and his almost independent attainment of Awakening. In addition, the more fulsome Divyāvadāna and Vinaya narratives celebrate Pūrṇa's great business acumen, his skilfulness in dealing both with the local king and with his own recalcitrant brothers, his intense devotion to the Buddha and commitment to the Order, his potent psychic powers, and his great triumph in aehieving all this despite lowly social status and serious karmic impediments springing from infractions of the Vinaya in previous births.

In all this, Pūrṇa is both very much a 'type,' who shares many qualities with the Buddha and with other saints whose deeds are recorded by the tradition,[87] and a recognizable individual, the clever merchant-turned-missionary monk who becomes the apostle his native land. It is perhaps not too much to say that Pūrṇa stands in relation to the local Buddhist tradition of Śroṇāparāntaka as the Buddha himself does to the tradition as a whole. In other words, Pūrṇa is both generic saint – the Buddha, as it were, writ small – and unique individual, to whose particular life and achievements the tradition saw fit to dedicate a range of texts, from the single verse in the Theravādin Theragāthā, to the couple of pages allotted him in the sūtras, to the several pages in the Theravādin commentaries, to the eighteen pages[88] in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya and Divyāvadāna. In these latter two works, which are more or less identical,[89] being no more than Tibetan and Sanskrit recensions of one and the same text, we find the most detailed version of the legend, one which can be seen to incorporate many of the earlier narrative traditions concerning Purna. While this study by no means ignores the doctrinal and historical contexts of the Pūrṇa-legend, it is concerned with these primarily as a knowledge of them assists in understanding of the Pūrṇāvadāna as an independent narrative.

The earliest manuscript witness for the published Sanskrit text of the Pūrṇāvadāna is probably no older than the seventeenth century.[90] As noted above, however, a text more or less identical to the Pūrṇāvadāna[91] was incorporated into the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, which was translated into Chinese shortly after 700 C.E. and into Tibetan in the ninth century.[92] A substantial portion of this Vinaya is available in a fifth-to-sixth-century Sanskrit manuscript, while the most recent assessment of the evidence suggests that the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya was compiled in its present form in the first or second century.[93] Although the Sanskrit manuscript does not include that part of the Bhaiṣajjavastu division

of the Vinaya which incorporates the Pūrṇāvadāna, we may infer that the extant Sanskrit version of our story is at least as old as the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya.[94]

Probably the earliest accounts concerning Pūrṇa are four sūtras, two in Pāli and two in Chinese translation, preserved in the Theravādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin Sūtrapiṭakas.[95] The Pāli versions are mostly word-for-word identical to each other; I treat them as one text throughout this study. Except for the monks' questions and the Buddha's comments at the end, the second of the Chinese versions diverges in no substantial way from the Pāli. For convenience I shall adapt the title given to the Pāli Majjhimanikāja version and refer to these three texts collectively as the Pūrṇāvavāda-sūtra, 'Discourse on the Exhortation of Pūrṇa'. When referring only to the Theravādin version I shall use the Pāli equivalent, Puṇṇovāda-sutta.

The first Chinese version appears to be an earlier version of the sūtra. This is suggested by two features. First, the text is very brief, perhaps half the length of the other two versions. The Buddha's address to Pūrṇa, as in the other two versions, concerns the attitude a monk should cultivate toward sensory experience, but the phraseology and terminology are very different. Second, other than the identification of the setting and Pūrṇa's request for instruction, the sūtra is entirely taken up with the Buddha's address, after which the sūtra concludes with Pūrṇa's delight in having received the Teaching. No mention is made of Pūrṇa wishing leave Śrāvastī; in fact the sūtra offers no biographical information whatever.

A fifth version of the text has been incorporated en bloc into the text of the Pūrṇāvadāna[96] where it formś the 'canonical core'. Except for changes in the conclusion required to fit the discourse into the flow of the narrative – the main one being that Pūrṇa does not die – it conforms closely to the Pūrṇāvavāda-sūtra.

In barest outline the contents of the Pūrṇāvavāda-sūtra are as follows: the Buddha is staying in Anāthapiṇḍada's Park in Prince Jeta's Grove in śrāvastī. The Venerable Pūrṇa arises from meditation, approaches the Buddha and requests a brief Dharma-lesson. The Buddha, obliging, instructs Pūrṇa on restraint of the senses: taking pleasure in pleasant sensory impressions leads to attachment which in turn prevents progress toward passionlessness and Nirvāṇa; not taking pleasure in them leads to detachment which in turn promotes progress toward passionlessness and Nirvāṇa. Then the Buddha asks Pūrṇa where he plans to make his home. When Pūrṇa replies, "Among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka," the Buddha warns his disciple of the rude, brutal and even deadly treatment he may have to endure at their hands. Even when his teacher suggests that the Śroṇāparāntakans may kill him, Pūrṇa insists that he will maintain only the most benevolent thoughts toward them. This pleases the Buddha; he praises Pūrṇa for his 'patient forebearance' and gives him leave to relocate. Pūrṇa travels to Śroṇāparāntaka where, during the rains retreat he makes many converts of both sexes, ordains others, builds a monastery or monasteries, and himself attains arhatship. Either during the same rainy season (Theravādin) or some unspecified time afterward (Mūlasarvāstivādin), he attains parinirvāṇa. The Theravādin version adds a sort of postscript: the monks, knowing that Puṇṇa has died, ask the Buddha about his postmortem circumstances. The Buddha confirms that Puṇṇa has attained final Nirvāṇa.

Two other canonical Theravādin collections, Theragāthā[97] and Therāpadāna, each contain short texts attributed to Puṇṇa himself. The former consists of a single verse extolling the virtues of moral discipline (sīla) and wisdom or insight (paññā). In the latter, Puṇṇa recalls that in a former birth he was a Brahmin ascetic living in the Himalayas. One day he follows a great effulgence to its source, a mountain cave near his hermitage. There he finds a deceased 'solitary buddha' (paccekabuddha) whom he reverently cremates. A deity (yakkha) appears, calls his name (which is not specified) and informs him that as a result of having 'fulfilled' (pūrita) this duty for the solitary buddha, he will henceforth experience only favourable rebirths (i.e., as a god or human in good circumstances) and in every birth will be named 'Fulfiller' (puṇṇaka). Puṇṇa confirms the accuracy of the deity's prediction, then declares that in his present birth he has satisfied the Buddha Gotama and has attained the highest goal of the religious life. This accomplishment the narrator then describes in the formulaic verses which conclude many Apadāna texts.

The Theragāthā incorporated texts over a period of several centuries. Some may date from the lifetime of the Buddha,[98] others may be as late as the first century B.C.E.[99] The Therāpadāna, which Norman has described as having a commentarial relationship to the Theragāthā,[100] has also been assigned to the first century B.C.E.[101] Other than the colophons, neither text actually contains anything specific to Puṇṇa of Sunāparanta. Only when read together with the Puṇṇa-theragāthā-vaṇṇaṇā, 'Exposition of the Elder Puṇṇa's Verse',[102] do we find any such biographical information. This commentary, however, is a composite work, with the first half clearly dependent on the Puṇṇa-therāpadāna (which in some editions it incorporates in toto)[103] and the second half on the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā, 'Exposition of the Discourse on the Exhortation of Puṇṇa',[104] the commentary on the Majjhima-nikāya scripture mentioned above.

Like many Theravādin commentaries, the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā was compiled in Sri Lanka in the sixth century from earlier, no-longer-extant texts in Old Sinhalese which were themselves translated from earlier commentaries in Pāli which had been brought from India. Thus, although the redactions which have come down to us are quite late, they likely incorporate narrative traditions which were current on the Indian mainland between 100 B.C.E. and 100 C.E.[105]

One can readily discern in the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā a simpler, presumably older version of the central narrative of the Pūrṇāvadāna. It also contains episodes which may have been known to the author of the latter text but which, for his own purposes, he de-emphasized or omitted altogether. What, then, does the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā tell us about Puṇṇa? Again, I here present only an outline; for the translation, see Appendix 1.

Puṇṇa was a native of Sunāparanta, the elder of two merchant brothers. While on an overland business trip to Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī), he attends one of the Buddha's lectures, is deeply moved and decides to take up the religious life. After settling his affairs, he joins the Order and begins the practice of meditation. Finding that he cannot concentrate, Puṇṇa resolves to return to Sunāparanta. He gets the Buddha to assign him a new meditation-object, then returns to Sunāparanta. Puṇṇa stays in four different places in

Sunāparanta. The first is near his home village. His brother prevails upon him to remain a while, but he moves on. At the second, the pounding of the surf disturbs his meditation; at the third, it is noisy flocks of birds. Finally, at the Makulārāma Monastery, Puṇṇa finds a place both peaceful and convenient for alms-collection.

Puṇṇa's brother and five hundred other merchants arrange an overseas trading expedition. Before leaving, the brother comes to Puṇṇa, acknowledges the dangers involved and asks for Puṇṇa's protection. Favourable windś carry the ship to an island thickly forested with precious red sandal (lohitacandana) trees. The men fili their ship with the valuable wood and prepare to leave. Enraged, the 'non-humans' (amanussa) who inhabit the forest raise a tempest with the intention of sinking the ship in the ocean.

Puṇṇa's brother, Cullapuṇṇa (here for the first and only time identified by name), invokes his brother. Puṇṇa, becoming aware of their predicament, flies to the island. The non-humans flee, Puṇṇa calms the tempest and transports ship and men back to Sunāparanta. The merchants and their families take Puṇṇa and the Three Jewels as their refuge. They offer Puṇṇa a share of the cargo, but Puṇṇa declines and instructs them to use all the sandalwood to build a 'circular pavilion' (maṇḍalamāla) which will enable them to meet his own teacher, the Buddha. They comply. During construction the night-watchmen guarding the site notice bright lights, which they attribute to a god; it is the Buddha, 'trying out' his new residence. When the pavilion is ready, Puṇṇa flies to Sāvatthi to issue the invitation.

The Buddha instructs Ānanda to issue 499 meal-tickets, the first of which is taken by the Elder Kuṇḍadhāna. When Sakka, king of the gods, becomes aware that the Buddha and 498 arahants are flying 130 leagues to receive alms, he has Vissakamma fashion 500 kiosks to serve as aerial cars. On the way to Sunāparanta, the Buddha converts the ascetic Saccabandha, who then occupies the one empty kiosk. The Buddha arrives at the merchant's village, renders the kiosks invisible, and enters. The people give alms and the Buddha expounds the Dhamma. He stays in what is now called the Great Perfumed Chamber (mahāgandhakuṭī) overnight, and departs the following morning. On the way, he converts the serpent-king of the Nammadā River whom he grants an object of worship in the form of his footprint. After returning Saccabandha to his home, the Buddha creates a similar relic for him. Finally, we learn that at Puṇṇa's final Nibbāna many monks and layman honoured the body for seven days, then cremated it and installed the remains in a cetiya.[106]

Thus for the Theravādins the Puṇṇovāda-sutta served as the narrative grain of sand around which the tradition deposited layer after layer of additional narrative detail: past-life service to the solitary Buddha; spiritual striving and missionary work in Sunāparanta; rescue of Cullapuṇṇa, construction and donation of the sandalwood pavilion; the Buddha's visit to Sunāparanta; Puṇṇa's final Nibbāna and the establishment of a shrine.

It is thought that the Sarvāstivādins, parent school of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, seceded from the Sthaviravādins, forerunners of the Theravādins, during the reign of Aśoka. It is no surprise, then, that the Mūlasarvāstivādin Pūrṇāvadāna incorporates most of these narrative elements. The two most conspicuously absent are Pūrṇa's meditation practice in Sunāparanta and his death; many new elements are added; yet others are greatly

elaborated.

If the author/redactor of the Pūrṇāvadāna chose not to recount Pūrṇa's death, he did take particular interest in Pūrṇa's secular and family life, elements almost completely ignored in the Theravādin sources. Of the twenty-odd sources which I have been able to compare, only the Pūrṇāvadāna contains the long account of Pūrṇa's birth, family life and early mercantile successes. However, other sources contain hints of this tradition. Below I reproduce Samuel Beal's summary translation of a short text from the Dbarmapādāvadāna-sūtra, translated into Chinese before 313 C.E.:[107]

> In old time there was a country called Na-lai (Nara) near the Southern Sea, in which the people gained their livelihood by seeking for pearls and selling sandalwood. It happened that there were two brothers in this country, whose parents being dead, they agreed to separate and seek their several fortunes. One of them had a slave named Fun-na (Pūrṇa) of very quick intellect, who went out on his journey to seek for some profitable adventure for his master. Having made considerable gain by the sale of some ox-head sandalwood, he came to Śrāvastī, and meeting with Buddha, was converted and became an Arhat. Returning then to his own people, and exhibiting before them the wonderful powers he possessed – viz., of ascending into the air, and causing water and fire to proceed from his person he led many of them to become disciples, and finally, at their entreaty, Buddha himself came to convert the King….

We cannot know when the Indic original was composed: likely by 200 C.E., though possibly a century or more earlier.[108] Nevertheless, even this summary reveals the lineaments of a legend which has developed beyond what we find in the Theravādin sources. Again, there are two merchant brothers, but here Pūrṇa starts out life as the slave of one. As in the Pūrṇāvadāna, after their father's death, the brothers seek their fortunes; as in the Pūrṇāvadāna, Pūrṇa trades in "ox-head sandalwood" (gośīrṣa-eandana) before travel-ling to Śrāvastī and joining the Order; as in the Pūrṇāvadāna, the Buddha does not convert a mere village of merchants, but a king and all his people. Pūrṇa's native land as 'Nara near the Southern Sea' requires further study; perhaps Beal's transliteration requires emendation. Pūrṇa's exhibition of the 'miracle of the pairs' (yamaka-prātibārya) I have not found is any other source.

In the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā, Pūrṇa flies to Sāvatthi to invite the Buddha to Sunāparanta. One innovation in the Puṇṇa-tberagātbā-vaṇṇanā is that he sends flowers.[109] This appears to be a nascent form of what in the Pūrṇāvadāna appears as formal and elaborate devotional worship – which brings us to the Avadānaśataka.

As it happens, the opening story of the first-century Avadānaśataka[110] is also called the Pūrṇāvadāna.[111] The eponymous hero, a Brahmin who lives in the mountains of the Deccan (dakṣiṇāgiri) – conceivably near the border of, but not in, Śroṇāparāntaka – hears much praise of the Buddha from his parents who are visiting from Rājagrha. In the habit of hosting elaborate Vedic rituāls (yajña), he organizes yet another to which he invites the Buddha by ritually invoking him from atop his mansion (prāsāda). Except for the

actual words of the invitation, the passage describing this ritual is almost verbatim identical to the corresponding passage in 'our' Pūrṇāvadāna, where the Venerable Pūrṇa, former business tycoon, mounts the roof of the Sandalwood Pavilion (candanamāla prāsāda) he has built in order to invite the Buddha to come from Śrāvastī to Śūrpāraka to accept it and to preach the Dharma.[112] Other than the name, this specific passage and the general theme of the Buddha coming from central India to the 'borderlands', the two stories have nothing in common. Pūrṇa of Daksiṇāgiri hosts the Buddha and Saṅgha, is inspired with faith in the Three Jewels and, as in many other Avadānaśataka stories, makes a vow to attain Buddhahood which the Buddha confirms.[113]

Thus far we have encountered Pūrṇa either as one of two brothers or as the slave of one of two brothers whose father has died. The Pūrṇāvadāna expands this considerablv. The father, who is given the name Bhava, has a part to play before he dies. Bhava sires Pūrṇa on a slave-girl, but treats Pūrṇa as equal to or better than his three legimate sons, Bhavila, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin. The three brothers are more often referred to by their nicknames: Dārukarṇin, Stavakarṇin and Trapukarṇin; otherwise, Wood-Earring, Lac-Earring and Tin-Earring. When we look to other sources, we find but one of these names, that of Stavakarṇin (also Stavakarṇika and Thapakarṇi).

The introduction to one of the last stories in the Avadānaśataka, one which shares no other elements with the Pūrṇāvadāna, employs the following terms to inform us that the protagonist, the wealthy householder Guptika, lives in the city of Sūrpāraka (here Saupāraka):

> When the Lord, invited by Stavakarṇika, attracted to religious training the great mass of people living in Saupāraka, that entire mass of people, the inhabitants of Saupāraka, became devoted to the Buddha, intent on the Dharma and committed to the Monastic Community. [At that time] there lived in Saupāraka City a wealthy householder....[114]

This only alludes to the story in which we are interested and is therefore less informative than one would like. Nevertheless it does tell us that in some version of the story Stavakaṛṇika, either alone, or perhaps in cooperation with a monk, hosts the Buddha's visit to Śūrpāraka. Regarding Stavakarṇika, however, other sources are less reticent.

The Mahāvastu Avadāna, which identifies itself as compiled "according to the version of Lokottaravādin [branch] of the Noble Mahāsāṃghikas",[115] is rather difficult to date. The earliest verse passages may be as early as the second century B.C.E., while some of the prose sections may be as late as the third or fourth century C.E.[116] The episode in question formś part of a prose jātaka told by the Buddha to illustrate his friendship, many aeons ago, with his current disciple Dharmaruci.[117] Meghadatta (Dharmaruci) and Megha (the Buddha) are students of the same teacher. When the Buddha Dīpaṃkara foretells Megha's attainment of Buddhahood as the Buddha Śākyamuni, Megha joins Dīpaṃkara's Monastic Order; meanwhile, Meghadatta commits such heinous sinś as matricide and parricide. After aeons of torment in the helis, Megha is reborn as the sea-monster timitimiṇgala, devourer of ships and men. One day, he finds Sthapakarṇika – here also

called Thapakarṇi – and his shipful of merchant companions to be convenient prey. The merchants invoke the Brahmanical gods without effect. The monk Pūrṇaka, who dwells on Mount Tuṇḍaturika and who is unknown to the merchants, becomes aware of their predicament, appears, rejects their invocations to him and instead has them go for refuge to his master, the Buddha. When the monster hears this name, it is inspired, resolves on harmlessness (ahiṃsā), dies of starvation, is reborn in heaven and then as the Brahmin Dharmaruci, who grows up, joins the Order and attains arhatship under the Buddha Śākyamuni.[118]

As we have seen, in the Theravādin sutta commentary Puṇṇa rescues Cullapuṇṇa & Company from the 'non-humans' and their tempest. The Pūrṇāvadāna gives a much elaborated account of the same basie story, though here Pūrṇa rescues his eldest brother Bhavila (Dārukarnin). The relation between the Mahāvastu version of the rescue and the Theravādin-Mūlasarvāstivādin versions is far from clear. However, certain elements suggest that the Mahāvastu represents an older tradition. First, Pūrṇaka and Stapakarṇika are not brothers and in fact do not even know each other. Second, a verse version of the story immediately follows the prose version summarized above. Such verse passages are generally regarded as earlier and in this one Stapakarṇika and his colleagues spontaneously invoke the Buddha. Pūrṇaka does not appear at all. Thus we have some evidence for an early legend in which the Buddha – subsequently replaced by Pūrṇaka – rescues a man named Stapakarṇika or Thapakarṇi from a sea-monster. We also find what appears to be another part of this legend in the Buddhacarita.

Aśvaghoṣa's celebrated poem on the life of the Buddha, has been dated, with rather more certainty than the works thus far discussed, to between 50 B.C.E. and 100 C.E.[119] Aśvaghoṣa, we know, took his plots, if not all the fulsome poetic details, from the traditional Buddhist materials known to him. Canto XXI of the Buddhacarita contains a series of verses in which the poet concisely describes the progress of the Buddha's ministry – a sort of spiritual 'conquest of the directions' (digvijaya). It is in this series that, after the Buddha converts "the Brahman Kātyāyana, nephew of Asita the sage,"

> Then He went by His magic powers to the city of Śūrpāraka and in due course instructed the merchant Stavakarṇin,
> Who, on being instructed, became so faithful that he started to build for the Best of Seers a sandalwood Vihāra, which was ever odorous and touched the sky.[120]

No mention of sea-voyages or rescues here and no mention of Pūrṇa, but the merchant Stavakarṇin lives in Śūrpāraka and constructs a vast sandalwood edifice for the Buddha. Moreover, unlike in the Theravādin accounts and in the Pūrṇāvadāna, this particular Stavakarṇin does not build the vihāra in order to invite the Buddha to Śūrpāraka: like that great patron of the Buddhist Order, Anāthapiṇḍada, first he encounters the Buddha and then, as an expression of faith and in order to earn merit, he builds the vihāra. Overall, it seems more likely that an early narrative tradition glorifying the Buddha would be later modified to also glorify a monk than the reverse.

Thus, though we must plunder three different works, we now have at least the outline

of a narrative tradition, likely an older one than the Pūrṇāvadāna, where it is Sthavakarṇin (or some recognizable variant of that name) whom Pūrṇa rescues from the ocean, whom the Buddha visits in Śūrpāraka and who constructs for him a sandalwood building. The three texts which narrate these episodes – Avadānaśataka, Mahāvastu, Buddhacarita – can all be dated to around the beginning of the Common Era.

Finally, depending upon what Indic equivalent one assigns to the Chinese name "T'a-p'o",[121] we may find that the fifth-century Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya also portrays Stavakarṇin as the sponsor of the Sandalwood Pavilion. This narrative[122] combines a version of Anāthapiṇḍada's (Anāthapiṇḍika's) conversion and donation of the famous Jetavana Monastery with episodes from the lives of Pūrṇa and another well-known arhat, Śroṇakoṭikarṇa. Again, since a full translation may be found in Appendix 4, I refer here only to the most essential details. In its broad lineaments and in many particulars, the Mahāsāṃghika narrative of Anāthapiṇḍada's introduction to the Buddha, his taking the vows of a lay-disciple, his invitation of the Buddha to accept alms at Śrāvastī, his purehase of Prince Jeta's park and his construction of a monastery there, accords well with the better-known account in the Theravāda Vinaya.[123] If anything, the Theravādin version contains additional narrative and deseriptive detail.

Where the Mahāsāṃghika version begins to diverge greatly from the Theravādin and, apparently, all other accounts of these events,[124] is that after Anāthapiṇḍada builds and furnishes the Jetavana Monastery, then, "because he wanted to further supply the monks, [he] sent Pūrṇa out on the ocean to collect treasures." This is the first mention of Pūrṇa who is not otherwise identified. As in the Pūrṇāvadāna, Pūrṇa makes seven ocean voyages; unlike that work, the Vinaya states only that the gods protect Pūrṇa and he experiences no difficulties. Entirely absent is the dramatic scene where Pūrṇa first hears the Word of the Buddha (buddhavacana). After the seventh voyage, Pūrṇa asks Anāthapiṇḍada for permission become a monk. Anāthapiṇḍada consents and takes him to the Buddha who ordains him. Then, somewhat as in three of the four versions of the Pūrṇāvavāda-sūtra, Pūrṇa requests and receives instruction and leaves for Śroṇāparāntaka. For details the narrator refers the reader to the "Pūrṇa-sūtra."

We then learn that in Śroṇāparāntaka "there was an eminent man called T'a-p'o, who was building a sandalwood chamber." It is seven years before T'a-p'o completes his project at which time he gives it to Pūrṇa. At the alms-giving that T'a-p'o hosts, there are enough fully-ordained monks for Pūrṇa to confer full (bhikṣu) ordination upon Koṭikarṇa, who has up until then been living as a novice (śramaṇera). The rest of the account concerns Koṭikarṇa's visit to the Buddha in Śrāvastī and his securing for the Saṃgha of Śroṇāparāntaka (at Pūrṇa's request) various modifications of Vinaya regulations.

According to Sylvain Lévi, whose interest was not in the Pūrṇa-legend, but in Koṭikarṇa reciting for the Buddha the Aṣṭavarga-sūtra,[125] T'a-p'o is clearly Bhava, Pūrṇa's father in the Pūrṇāva-dāna.[126] However, as we shall see, that Bhava dies long before Pūrṇa arranges the construction of the Sandalwood Pavilion; indeed, long before Pūrṇa's ocean voyages or his ordination. Now there may be yet another version of the story in which Bhava builds and donates the Sandalwood Pavilion. However, given the accounts we have surveyed above, it may be permissible to conjecture that T'a-p'o represents an

abbreviated form of the Sanskrit 'Stavakarṇin' or the semi-Middle-Indic 'Thapakarṇi'. If T'a-p'o does in fact refer to Stavakarṇin, we have another stage in the elaboration of the story. As in the Buddhacarita, Stavakarṇin constructs the sandalwood vihāra; unlike in the Buddhacarita, he gives it to Pūrṇa, not the Buddha. Nor, in this Vinaya, does the Buddha visit Śūrpāraka. This account is also notable in that it makes Koṭikarṇa a native of Śroṇāparāntaka and Pūrṇa his teacher: in all other versions Koṭikarṇa is a native of Avanti and Mahākātyāyana his teacher. Lamotte follows Lévi in suggesting that Koṭikarṇa's full name, ŚroṇaKoṭikarṇa, led the ancient redactors to mistakenly identify him with Śroṇāparāntaka and, by extension, with Pūrṇa.[127] The modifications of Vinaya regulations are also those which, in other sources, Śroṇakoṭikarṇa secures for the Avanti Sarigha at Mahākātyāyana's request.[128]

Also significant here is that Pūrṇa asks Anāthapiṇḍada for permission to become a monk. In the Pūrṇāvadāna, Pūrṇa, by then an eminent merchant, meets Anāthapiṇḍada as an equal: he has already received permission to take up the religious life from his older brother Bhavila; Anāthapiṇḍada merely sponsors his ordination by introducing him to the Buddha. Being sent on sea-voyages and asking permission to take ordination are the actions of a retainer, a servant. This connects the Mahāsāṃghika account to that of the Dharmapādāvadāna, where Pūrṇa is simply the slave of one of two merchant brothers. If this is Pūrṇa's status in the oldest sources, the Pūrṇāvadāna modifies it to make a Pūrṇa whose mother is a slave but whose father is her wealthy vaiśya owner who in any case grants both mother and son their freedom.

This episode also brings to mind the Theravādin tradition according to which Anāthapiṇḍika owned a female slave called Puṇṇā or Puṇṇikā.[129] Theravādin literature preserves two quite different stories about her. According to Therīgāthā LXV and its commentary, she was the daughter of one of Anāthapiṇḍada's domestic slaves. Puṇṇā attains the first degree of sanctity ('stream-entry'; Pāli: sotāpanna) while listening to a recitation of the Sīhanāda-sutta. Later, she converts a Brahmin ritualist for which deed Anāthapiṇḍika grants her her freedom. She joins the Order and attains arahantship. Her past births are recorded in the Therīapadāna. According to another, purely commentarial tradition, Puṇṇā is Anāthapiṇḍika's personal slave. When her master is much distressed at the Buddha's imminent departure from Sāvatthi, Puṇṇā inducés him to delay his departure so that she can formally declare herself a lay-disciple. Anāthapiṇḍika's reward is to free her and adopt her as his own daughter. She, too, joins the Order and attain arahantship.[130] It may be that the Mahāsāṃghika account combines the characters of the seafaring merchant Pūrṇa who was born to a slave-girl, whom Anāthapiṇḍada introduced to the Buddha and who later became an arhat, with some version of the tradition that Anāthapiṇḍada had a slave-girl Purnā who, after gaining her freedom, joined the Saṃgha and became an arhatī.

Before turning to methodological issues and then to the Pūrṇāvadāna itself, we must consider one final text, the Sumā-gadhāvadāna,[131] where we find extensive parallels between the legend of Anāthapiṇḍada's daughter and that of Pūrṇa of Śūrpāraka. To be sure, the characters and setting of the two stories are quite different. Sumāgadhā is Anāthapiṇḍada's daughter. After her marriage, she goes to live in Puṇḍravardhana (some

distance north of present-day Calcutta) with her in-laws, all lay-followers of the Jains.[132] She is disgusted by the "ill-mannered and indecent attitudes" of the Jain monks patronized by her husband and his family and eventually receives permission from her mother-in-law to invite the Buddha and his monks to receive alms at their home.

Like the Brahmin Pūrṇa in the Avadānaśataka, who climbs onto the roof of his mansion and like Pūrṇa in the Pūrṇāvadāna, who mounts the roof of the Sandalwood Pavilion, Sumāgadhā climbs onto the roof of her husband's house, offers flowers, incense and water, and piously invokes the Lord. Her offerings fly "westward for 160 yojanas to the Jetavana-garden, where [they] fall at the feet of the Buddha."[133] The Buddha interprets this phenomenon to Ānanda as an invitation from Sumāgadhā (Chinese: Shan-wu-tu) in Puṇḍravardhana,[134] just as in the Pūrṇāvadāna, he explains it as an invitation from Pūrṇa in Śūrpāraka.

Also as in the Pūrṇāvadāna, we find the Elder Kuṇḍpadhānīva-ka (Chinese: K'un-nu-po-t'o-na) seated in the assembly of monks when Ānanda, on the Buddha's instructions, begins to distribute meal-tickets (śalākā) to those monks whose psychic powers will enable them to fly the great distance to Puṇḍravardhana. The scene here is almost identical to that in the Pūrṇāvadāna: Ānanda first tells Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka that sińce he does not possess psychic powers he cannot take a meal-ticket. Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka concentrates mightily, instantly generates psychic power, stretches out his arm "as long as an elephant's trunk," and takes the ticket. This accomplish-ment he celebrates in verse. The only notable difference between the two versions of the episode is that in the Divyāvadāna, Pūrṇa is already an arhat, while in the Sumāgadhāvadāna, he has only 'entered the stream' (śrotaapanna; Chinese hsü-t'o-yüan) and his spontaneous concentration gains him both the six types of psychic power (ṣaḍabhijñā) and arhatship.[135] As does the King of Śūrpāraka in the Pūrṇāvadāna, Sumāgadhā's husband observes the monks flying into the city. on their various supernatural mounts and repeatedly asks whether a particular one is the Buddha.[136]

Finally, just as in the Pūrṇāvadāna the Buddha transforms the Sandalwood Pavilion into crystal (sphatika), so in the Sumāgadhāvadāna he transforms into crystal the house of Sumāgadhā's in-laws.[137] In both accounts the Buddha's motivation is the same: to prevent the masses of people who are bent on seeing the Lord from wrecking the building in question. And of course in both accounts, everyone in the city takes up the practice of the Dharma in accordance with their degree of understanding.[138]

It is difficult to assess Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka already being an arhat in the Pūrṇāvadāna, but only a śrotaapanna in the Sumāgadhāvadāna. The distinction between those who are liberated through insight alone (prajnāvimukta) and those who are liberated through both insight and mastery of the higher meditative states which alone confer psychic powers (ubhajatobhāgavimukta) is one already made in the canonical literature.[139]

It is tempting to regard the Pūrṇāvadāna account as reflecting a later, or at least more scholastic concern, with fine dogmatic distinctions between different types of arhats, in contrast to the Sumāgadhāvadāna account, which presents a rapid ascent from Stream-Entry to Awakening. On the other hancl, the author of the Sumāgadhāvadāna could have

made Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka a śrotaapanna in order to magnify the enormity of his accomplishment.[140] For that matter, both versions could have been adapted from a common source, with each redactor modifying details in accor-dance with his own requirements.[141]

In other respects, the Sumāgadhāvadāna appears to be a more elaborated narrative. The Pūrṇāvadāna has a lay-disciple describe in three verses the vehicles of the monks as they descend from the sky into Śūrpāraka; the Sumāgadhāvadāna greatly expands this, with a description of no less than eighteen different vehicles and their occupants. When, in the Pūrṇāvadāna, the Buddha leaves the Jetavana Monastery for Śūrpāraka, the goddess who resides there follows him; in the Sumagadha-story, he departs surrounded by many divinities. In the Pūrṇāvadāna, the Buddha makes a number of conversions along the way, among them five hundred sages; in the Sumāgadhā-version the number is seven thousand. Finally, when, in the latter text, the Buddha enters Puṇḍravardhana, all manner of miracles take place: the lame walk, the blind see, the insane recover their sanity, and so forth; there are no analogous descriptions in the Pūrṇāvadāna.

However, our purpose here is less to establish the textual history of the Pūrṇāvadāna than to impart a sense of the extent and diversity of the narrative tradition. Our story is not only of the avadāna genre, but shares numerous elements, great and small, with other sources, canonical and extra-canonical. We do not know, of course, what narrative traditions, written and oral, were known to the anonymous monk or monks who redacted the Pūrṇāvadāna. Nevertheless, the foregoing discussion attempts to provide that literary context and to show that Pūrṇa of Śūrpāraka belongs as much to a tradition of story-telling as to a religious tradition. As John Strong asserts of the Aśokāvadāna, the Pūrṇāvadāna is "little concerned with scoring sectarian points."[142] The themes of karma and rebirth, faith and devotion are pan-Buddhistic (for that matter, pan-Indian). As we shall see in Chapter III, our story does take

> definite positions on questions such as faith, kingship, devotion to the Buddha, and the nature of suffering and how to overcome it. But its stance is assumed rather than explicit, and is embedded in the telling of the legend itself.[143]

In other words, the Pūrṇāvadāna as we have it leads us away from the examination of religious doctrine per se and toward the analysis of literary form. Or, put another way, such doctrines as are promulgated in the story are best understood through a close examination of the narrative medium through which they are expressed. And this in turn requires us to elucidate what is meant by literary analysis.

The aim of the first part of this introduction was to report on, if not fully explicate, the essential historical, religious and generic contexts within which a literary analysis of the Pūrṇāvadāna must necessarily proceed and to which it can be referred. Authors and redactors do not work in a vacuum nor do their contemporaries encounter their works in one. Therefore the literary analyst must first be a historian and equip himself or herself with the requisite knowledge of the cultural and literary contexts and conventions which would (or could) have informed the composition and reception of a given work.

However, the purpose of such knowledge, such familiarity, is not to dissolve the work back into its contexts, i.e., to extract philological, doctrinal, historical, or generic information. As long as we confine ourselves to relating the Pūrṇāvadāna to its contexts, we confine ourselves to learning what it has in common with them. What escapes the philological, doctrinal, historical and generic approaches is precisely what is distinctive to our story, what distinguishes it from other ancient Indian narrative works, from other Buddhist narratives, from other avadānas. A literary approach, while necessarily utilizing knowledge gained from these other disciplines, seeks to explicate the unique experience of reading the Pūrṇāvadāna, to highlight those features, formal and thematic, which distinguish it from any other text, however similar, while always remaining mindful of the ways in which those features which it shares with other works condition that uniqueness.

In some sense this basic distinction between the 'text' and its 'contexts' is a heuristic device, just as Buddhist doctrine has always insisted that the very idea of an 'individual' or a 'person' is a heuristic device, just as the tiniest, most isolated lake is ultimately dissolvable into the hydrological cycle. Yet the Buddha found it helpful and necessary to adjust his Teaching to the differing capacities and histories of individuāls just as we find it helpful and necessary to address the issues involved in relieving pollution in one specific lake. As in spiritual training and ecological responsibility, literary analysis requires a double vision, demands that one 'think globally and act locally'.

To these two complementary dimensions correspond two complementary approaches to the study of literature : 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic'.[144] The latter concerns itself with what I have called the 'contexts' of a work, the former to what I have called the 'text' itself, that singular constellation of diction, syntax, events, plot, allusions, figurative language, etc., in and through which the 'story' is created. The contexts are the primary concern of historians and philologists for whom the text is a kind of crude ore from which they seek to smelt the gold and silver of historical and linguistic (or other) knowledge. For the literary critic, the priorities are reversed: his or her interest in doctrine, religious history, philology, even literary history derives from and is subordinated to understanding a specific text as a unique 'virtual' world. In his use of the terms "top-down" and "bottom-up" to denote the "two styles of approaching narrative," Jerome Bruner makes much the same point:

> Top-down partisans take off from a theory about story, about mind, about writers, about readers. The theory may be anchored wherever: in psychoanalysis, in structural linguistics, in a theory of memory, in the philosophy of history. Armed with an hypothesis, the top-down partisan swoops on this text and that, searching for instances (and less often counter-instances) of what he hopes will be a right "explanation." In skilled and dispassionate hands, it is a powerful way to work … but it instills habits of work that always risk producing results that are insensitive to the contexts in which they were dug up.
>
> Bottom-up partisans march to a very different tune. Their approach is focused on a particular piece of work: a story, a novel, a poem, even a line. They take it as their morsel of reality and explore it to reconstruct or deconstruct it.… [Their] effort is to

> read the text for its meanings, and by doing so to elucidate the art of its author. They do not forswear the guidance of psychoanalytic theory or of Jakobsonian poetics or even of the philosophy of language in pursuing their quest. But their quest is not to prove or disprove a theory, but to explore the world of a particular literary work.[145]

The methodological difficulty here is that there exists no developed model or precedent for a literary ('intrinsic') approach to the study of Buddhist narrative texts.[146] A solution to this can be found in, or rather adapted from, the field of Biblical Studies.

Analogous to my distinction between the text and contexts of the Pūrṇāvadāna, in his Art of Biblical Narrative, Robert Alter distinguishes between "excavative scholarship" pertaining to, and "literary analysis" of, Biblical texts. The former comprises the various types of historical, philological, text-critical and archaeological criteria which scholars apply to the study of Biblical texts. All these Alter acknowledges are essential. At the same time, he describes such scholarship in terms of "a necessary first step",[147] not an end in itself, and devotes his book to "close readings" of selected stories from the Hebrew Bible.

Alter does not apply any one of the many available systems of literary theory to the Biblical narratives. Instead, he makes the case that reading the texts in light of, say, structuralist or deconstructionist theory constitutes a prejudgement that all too often distorts or obscures works that have "their own dynamics, their own distinctive conventions and characteristic techniques."[148] Nor, on the basis of his readings of Biblical narrative, does he devise his own system of poetics, regarding the actual narrative operations of the stories as too various and complex for meaningful systematic categorization.

What attitude, then, does one bring to the text? And if not the 'testing' of a theory about mind, or religious doctrines or practices, or ecclesiastical history (or whatever), what does literary analysis involve? Alter's answer to the first question is that, until and unless proven otherwise, one regards such texts as "a complete interfusion of literary art with theological, moral, historiosophical vision, the fullest perception of the latter dependent upon the fullest grasp of the former."[149] His answer to the second is that literary analysis involves the "manifold varieties of minutely discriminating attention to the artful use of language, to the shifting play of ideas, conventions, tone, sound, imagery, syntax, narrative viewpoint, compositional units and much else...."[150]

Such attention, Alter asserts, is less conjectural than certain kinds of historical scholarship because it is linked to discernable details in the text itself.[151] Accordingly his procedure is to present his own translations of selected Biblical narratives followed by literary analyses supported, where appropriate, by historical and philological information. In analyzing the Pūrṇāvadāna, I have proceeded in a similar manner, always striving to focus upon the "complexly integrated ways in which the tale is told."[152]

It is tempting to conjecture that the relative neglect of Buddhist story-literature may be connected with the predominant scholarly preference for 'excavative' study.[153] On the one

hand, this preference is both understandable and justified: the state of our knowledge of the languages, scriptures, archaeology, doctrines and history of Indian Buddhism compares, roughly, to our knowledge of the Biblical and Western Classical traditions a century ago. On the other hand, if the value or meaning of the Pūrṇāvadāna is reducible to those illustrations of the doctrine of karma, or of religious devotion, or of the modes of spiritual attainment, which can be extracted from it, then why trouble oneself much about such narrative material? There is already so much to read! If we regard an avadāna as an inferior kind of sūtra, watered-down theology for the masses, the doctrines of which are to be discerned by clearing away the 'superfices' of character, setting, plot, figurative language, and so forth, why not just stick with the real thing, doctrinal sūtras and the authoritative śāstras which interpret and nuance them? Yet if the shoe were on the other foot – if from some strange parallel world emerged scholars who disdained Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhjamakakārikās because as narratives they were so much inferior to the Divyāvadāna and the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya – would we not then advise our new colleagues of the error of their ways? I suspect also that the long-standing (but now changing) scholarly devaluation of narrative sources is not unconnected with what Schopen has called "Protestant presuppositions in the study of Indian Buddhism."[154] Schopen's point, as I understand it, is that modern Western scholars – and others who have imbued their spirit – have long privileged certain kinds of evidence (textual) over others (archaeological, epigraphical) and that this privileging is not based on any informed evaluation of the relative value of these different kinds of evidence, but rather on an often unacknowledged and always unwarranted 'sacralization' of textual sources which ignores the fact that a doctrinal text can tell us what a representative part of the tradition thought, but an inscription tells us what one particular person or group actually did. I would argue, moreover, that similar presuppositions have long operated within textual studies, where they take the form of a privileging of the 'historical,' 'rational' and 'philosophical' over 'story,' 'legend' and 'myth,' of what has been declared true over what has been demonstrated to be meaningful. Nor do I think it coincidental that the epigraphical data which Schopen has used to such good advantage frequently suggests a picture of a living Indian Buddhism which resembles the avadānas far more than the sūtras and śāstras. In this connection, a British Buddhist monk, the Venerable Saṅgharaksita, has made a simple, if frequently overlooked point:

> Corresponding to the distinction between the intellect and the emotions, between science and poetry, there are two great modes for the communication of spiritual truths, and therefore two principal types of religious literature. One mode is conceptual, addressing itself to the understanding by means of abstractions; the other is existential, appealing to the emotions and the will through concrete actions and sensuous images. While the first excogitates systems of religious philosophy and theologies, the second gives birth to magic, myths and legends. To one, as its natural literary expression, appertains the treatise and the tractate, the polemic and the discursive, descriptive treatment of religious ideals; to the other the religious drama, the story and the song.[155]

In identifying the "paradigmatic" – I prefer the terms 'systematic' or 'analytic' – and the "narrative" as "two modes of cognitive functioning," irreducible, complementary "ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality" and which, in written or spoken texts, correspond, respectively, to the "well-formed logical argument" and the "well-wrought story," Bruner makes exactly the same point.[156] He also makes the very important observation that "we" are much better at understanding analytic thought and texts than narrative thought and texts.[157]

Now, as even popular publications urge us to recognize and cultivate synthetic as well as analytic dimensions of our intelligence, it should not be difficult to recognize the reality and validity of Sangharaksita's and Bruner's "two modes." This should enable us to refrain from judging, as have scholars in the past, the sūtras and śāstras as somehow intrinsically superior to or more authentic than the avadānas or their analogues in the Pāli commentaries. In fact, such judgements are conditioned by a facile and, we now know, misinformed distinction between an ignorant, if faithful, laity and a learned, philosophically-critical Saṅgha, the former who practise "Buddhism as a religion," the latter "Buddhism as a philosophy."[158] The facts are that there is no lack of 'story-telling' in the early canonical texts and that some of the earliest verifiable evidence shows that, whatever their devotion to 'philosophy,' learned monks participated actively in devotional ritual and merit-making, the very 'religious' pursuits, as it happens, which feature so prominently in the avadānas.[159] It can hardly be random coincidence that avadānas and other narrative works form a major part of the holdings of monastic libraries as distant from each other in time and space as early twentieth-century Laos and first-century Afghanistan.[160] Moreover, as Mark Woodward has shown for the Theravāda Buddhist textual tradition, the major doctrinal and philosophical works invoke the authority of the biographical texts as much as the biographical texts do the reverse.[161] Thus we find that within the textual corpus itself, the ancient tradition implicitly recognized the complementarity of analysis and narrative.

Indeed, there is mounting evidence that the Buddha was not merely an early philosopher whose sober, rational message was later 'mythologized,' but a religious teacher for whom logic and legend, analysis and narrative, were equally valid modes of discourse and whose multi-faceted teaching was continued in all its formś by the traditions he inaugurated. However, if this is so, as students and scholars of Buddhism we owe it to ourselves and to our discipline to study avadānas with as much seriousness and acuity as we do doctrinal and philosophical texts. This, however, is possible only when we study the Pūrṇāvadāna and texts like it not as the Buddha's teaching watered down for the masses, but as literary works in their own right. One of polemical spirit might even ask: will our understanding of Indian Buddhism be advanced more by the next five publications on Nāgārjuna or by the next five publications on the avadāna literature ?[162]

What, then, of the actual business of analyzing narrative? Alter's book comprises a series of practical demonstrations of how to read Biblical narrative. His method is as far as possible to permit categories of analysis to be determined by the texts themselves. Many of his observations about the workings of Biblical narrative are readily applicable to

the Pūrṇāvadāna. For example, Alter finds that while many Biblical narratives are composite, drawing upon earlier Near Eastern material, what proves most valuable for an understanding of the text as we have it is not so much what its sources are, but rather how the author has worked upon, adapted, transformed those sources to form a unique "complexly integrated whole." Similarly, while Alter would have us allow the texts we read teach us our critical categories, he does – with forewarnings about reductionism – designate four dimensions of narrative to which he recommends we pay close attention.

These "four general rubrics" are: words, actions, dialogue and narration. These are universal categories, found in narrative ancient and modern, Western and Eastern, written and oral. Different texts will employ these formal features in different ways to different degrees. The critic's task is to work out the ways in which these 'dimensions' of a text articulate the 'world of meaning,' the themes and ideas, that are the work. In this view, the value of the Biblical story of the creation of woman and of the Pūrṇāvadāna as religious texts is "intimately and inseparably related" to their value as literature.[163]

1. Words: In a literary text single words or phrases can carry a great freight of meaning. An obvious example from the Pūrṇāvadāna is the names of Bhavila and his four sons – Bhavila, Bhavatrāta, Bhavanandin and Pūrṇa. As we shall see, these names have allegorical implications that provide a thematic framework for the entire action. As the narrative progresses, the specification, alteration, omission and application of these names serve additional thematic functions. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that, by comparison to scholarly command of Biblical Hebrew, our knowledge of the subtleties of Buddhist Sanskrit usage leaves much to be desired. Accordingly, this aspect of my study leaves most to be desired.

2. Actions: Alter carefully studies repeated, parallel and analogous actions. This dimension is also important in our text, particularly what Alter calls "narrative analogy, where one part of the story provides a commentary or foil to another."[164] Thus the very similar descriptions of the birth of Bhava's three legitimate sons are 'commented upon' by the much more fulsome – though equally formulaic – descriptions accorded the birth of Pūrṇa. Similarly, Bhava falls ill twice, once to be rescued by 'compassion,' the second time to pass away 'in the nature of all compounded things'. Pūrṇa's brothers go on overseas trading expeditions while their father is still alive as well as after his death; Pūrṇa himself goes on seven such voyages after his father's death. In each case, the action is described in very similar terms, replete with formulaic expressions found in other avadānas, but with subtle textual differences which communicate very different motivations and produce vastly different results. Bhavila, for example, takes his final voyage out of pride and almost loses his life; Pūrṇa takes his final voyage out of kindness and at sea learns for the first time of the Buddha and his teaching.

The formulaic phrase for embarking on an overseas trading expedition is "to set out on the great ocean." In a number of episodes, the author combines the dimensions of words and actions to exploit the double meaning of this turn of phrase: to set out on the great ocean refers not only to mercantile travel, but also to plunging into the 'great ocean of saṃsāra,' the cycle of birth and death in which most entrap themselves. Thus when Pūrṇa warns Bhavila about the dangers of overseas travel, he is at once warning him of the

physical perils of ocean travel and of the spiritual and moral dangers of greed and pride.

The several accounts of the Buddha's conversions en route to Śūrpāraka constitute another group of episodes, expressed in highly formulaic language the meaning of which resides not only in what they say but what their slight differences say about each other.

The scenes of the birth of Bhava's sons, the various settings-out on the great ocean, the Buddha's conversions of individuāls and communities – all comment upon and enrich the implications of each other, "establishing a kind of rhythm of thematic significance." [165] All these are instances of what Alter calls a "type-scene," where the same event occurs in different contexts and where even minute alterations may be highly significant.

3 . Dialogue: As Alter remarks of the Biblical narratives, in the Pūrṇāvadāna "a remarkably large part of the narrative burden is carried by dialogue."[166] The most important transactions between characters tend to be in the form of dialogue; therefore, those points at which third-person narration changes to dialogue can be particularly revealing of "what is deemed essential."[167] Alter recommends a number of questions the answers to which are frequently aids to interpretation. If this is a character's first speech in a given episode, why has the author chosen to have him or her speak at this point? How do syntax, tone, imagery, brevity or length, help to delineate the character and his relation to his interlocutors? Does the dialogue contain discontinuities where, for example, one character answers obliquely or responds in a way that is not an answer at all? Alter also invites readers to attend carefully to speeches which are repeated, for even the alteration or omission of a single word can have profound thematic resonance.[168] As we shall see, Bhavila's recapitulation of Pūrṇa's warnings about overseas travel qualifies as one instance of this.

4 . Narration: Alter describes the way in which "omniscience and inobtrusiveness are combined" as the most distinctive characteristic of the narrator in the Biblical tāles.[169] This he connects with a purposefully selective "reticence" on the part of the narrative persona, in which case it is helpful to pose certain questions. When, if ever, does the narrator comment on the action he is relating? Where is motive or motivation attributed to one character but not to another? Why is considerable narrative detail provided for one scene or episode and little or none in another?

The same questions are worth bearing in mind as we read the Pūrṇāvadāna. As in the Biblical narratives, the narrator in our text is both omniscient and reticent. He 'knows' what the characters are thinking and at times chooses to inform us. He occasionally comments on the action, but not often. He reveals the motivations of characters in certain situations, but not in others. All of these can be clues, indicators, leads.

Other of Alter's observations are germaine to reading the Pūrṇāvadāna. He characterizes Biblical narrative, almost always presented as history, as lying on a continuum between "historicized fiction" and "fictionalized history," interweaving, as it does, factual historical detail with legends, folktales, "etiological stories," "mythological lore," and purely fictional characters and events. [170] This "interweaving" appears to be equally a feature of our text, although in Indian Buddhist studies identifying textual strata has not progressed – and due to the nature of the material may never progress – to the degree that is has in Biblical studies. Nevertheless the important point here is that

identifying sources and parallels remains secondary to understanding how the author (or final redactor) has utilized them in the story, for the narrative context in which they are placed, and subtle or obvious changes made, can be of crucial importance.[171] One possible way to describe the Pūrṇāvadāna is 'a folktale about a local hero which has been transmuted into that of a Buddhist spiritual hero'. It is likely that most of the episodes and much of the language and tone have been adapted, often at more than one remove, from earlier sources. But, like Alter, I find that the ancient author has often deftly and, it would seem, deliberately, "manipulated his inherited materials."[172]

Alter observes that in the Biblical stories formal verse is a "common convention … for direct speech that has some significantly summarizing or ceremonial function."[173] Whatever the history of the prose-and-verse type of narrative in Buddhist literature,[174] this is manifestly also true of the Pūrṇāvadāna. Its nineteen stanzas -many if not most of which are conventional – sometimes pronounced by the narrator, sometimes by characters, invariably highlight a particular situation, idea or event: Bhava's verse on the importance of family unity; Bhava's death; the verses describing ordination; Pūrṇa's challenge to the hunter; the prayers of Bhavila's colleagues; Pūrṇa's invocation of the Buddha in far-off Śrāvastī, etc.

As Alter takes pains to emphasize, his discussion of the various formal strategies operating on the levels of words, actions, dialogue and narration constitute not an interpretive system, but rather a loose framework or set of guidelines. Whether, how and to what extent any one of these operate in a given text can only be determined in the reading of that text. Ultimately, reading any narrative text requires learning the "distinctive set of narrative procedures" which are specific to it,[175] not superimposing upon its patterns assumptions derived from readings of other types of narratives or from some particular system of poetics or narratology.[176] In other words, while always mindful of the relevant contexts and while not eschewing the aid afforded by 'extrinsic' knowledge, one strives to read "bottom-up," not "top-down."

Finally, literary analysis seeks not merely to describe these formal strategies, but to discern how and to what extent their interrelations organize the work into a coherent whole. If historical scholarship is a necessary first step and literary analysis the second, some 'thematic synthesis' must be the third. As Alter reminds us, "[a]ll these formal means have an ultimately representational purpose"; that is, they imply, articulate, enact intentions, values, themes, ideas; they mean something. How this is achieved in the Pūrṇāvadāna shall be our concern in Chapter III. First, however, we must read our text.…

Notes

1 To be distinguished from Pūrṇamaitrāyanīputra (Pāli: Puṇṇamantāṇiputta). On this Pūrṇa, see the references cited in ED and DPPN. In general, I use Sanskrit terms except when referring only to Pāli or Prakrit sources, when I use, of course, Pāli or Prakrit.

2 Latitude 19° 25′ N., longitude 72° 47′ E.: in modern times "a large village in the Bassein sub-division of the Thana district, 37 miles north of Bombay, 4 miles southwest of the Virar station on the Baroda railway" (Mangvungh 1990: 31).

3 Also (Skt.) Aparānta, Aparāntaka; (Pāli): Aparanta, Aparantaka.

4 Buddhist Skt.: Sūrpāraka; Greek: Suppara, Soparagas; Prakrit/modern: Sopāra.
5 Ray 1986: 15.
6 Sircar 1975: 33, Ray 1986: 60.
7 Mahābhārata (ed. Sukthankar et al) III.118.8. See also Charpentier 1927.
8 Mahāvarṃsa (ed.-tr. Geiger) VI.46–47, Dīpavaṃsa (ed.-tr. Oldenberg) IX. 15 ff.
9 Ray 1986: 15–17, 60; Mangvungh 1990: 32–33.
10 Kārli Cave 8, Inscription 8 (Mangvungh 1990: 32).
11 Nāsik Cave 10, Inscription 10 (Senart 1905: 78); Lamotte [1958] 1988: 510.
12 Kānheri Cave 7, Inscription 13 (Mangvungh 1990: 33).
13 Kānher Cave 101, Inscription 41 (Mangvungh 1990: 33).
14 Lüders 1912: 122.
15 Kānheri Cave 16, Inscription 17 (Nagaraju 1981: 334).
16 Kānheri Cave 3, Inscription 6 (Mangvungh 1990: 33).
17 Mangvungh 1990: 4; Lamotte 1944–80 I 344 n.
18 Lamotte [1958] 1988: 514.
19 Mangvungh 1990: 32.
20 Thapar 1973: 228, Ray 1986: 31, Karttunen 1997: 333.
21 Arthaśāstra (ed. Kangle) II.11.90.
22 Mahāvarṃsa (ed.-tr. Geiger) XII.5, Dīpavarṃsa (ed.-tr. Oldenberg) VIII.7.
23 Lamotte [1958] 1988: 298, 302.
24 Apadāna (ed. Lilley) ii.476, vv. 13 ff.; at Jātaka iii.188.13–14, tr. III 124, the trade is between Bhārukaccha (a west coast port 150 miles north of Suppāraka) and Suvaṇṇabhūmi. For commentarial references, see DPPN II 1222–1223. On Suvarṇabhūmi, 'Land of Gold,' and the synonymous Suvarṇadvīpa, 'Island of Gold,' see Lamotte [1958] 1988: 300 & Karttunen 1997: 250, 345; on Indian trade with SE Asia pre-dating the Common Era, see Glover 1996.
25 In the matter of Pūrṇa's dates, compare the opinion of Lamotte ([1958] 1988: 297, 298, 300, 329–330), who assigns Pūrṇa to the Mauryan period, with that of Hirakawa ([1974] 1990: 35, 77, 81), who seems closer to accepting the traditional view that he was a direct disciple of the Buddha. Neither adduce powerful evidence one way or another.
26 Strong 1983: 22.
27 Feer 1879: 147–148, Feer 1891: xi, Speyer 1906–1909: II iv.
28 dharmataḥ sukhino bhūtāḥ pāpato duḥkhabhāginaḥ / miśrato miśrabhuktāra ityuktam avadānikaiḥ // Kalpadrumāvadānamālā X.106 (ed. Speyer 1902–09: II xlix).
29 guṇadharmapramеṇa jāter naiva pramāṇatā / tathā ca procyate bauddhair avadānārthakovidaiḥ // Kalpadrumāvadānamālā X.162 (ed. Speyer 1902–09: II lv). Discussion in Strong 1985: 866–867.
30 Critical Pāli Dictionary (ed. Andersen-Smith) I 267, s.v. apadāna; Speyer 1906–1909: II iii–iv.
31 DN iii.88.17, 90.14, 91.25, tr. THIH 411; Mv i.341.17–342.3, tr. I 288; i.343.19–20, tr. I 289; i.345.16–17, tr. I 291; i.346.3–4, tr. I 291.
32 Suttanipāta (ed. Andersen-Smith 1913, tr. Norman 1984), verse 77.
33 Cutler 1994: 6 (AN i.223.21–22).
34 SBV i.11.1–2 (also i.13.25–26, 14.1–2). Cf. the indeclinable compound, lūnayāvam, 'after the barley has been cut, after the barley-harvest' (MW).
35 Amarakośa (ed. Śāstrī 1970: 525a) iii.2.c.
36 Winternitz 1930. Cf. Przyluski 1931–32: 18–19.
37 See Speyer 1902–09: II ii–iii; Apte, s.v. avadānam.
38 Those interested in this topie may wish to consult the following: Abhidharma-samuccaya of Asaṅga (ed. Pradhan 1950): 78, (tr. Rahula 1971): xiii, 132; Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya (ed. Tatia 1976): 96, § 117; Satyasiddhiśāstra of Harivarman (ed.-tr. Sastri 1976–78): I 27.1–2, II 22; Nyāyānusāra of Saṃghabhadra (T 1562, chüan 44, p. 595a, discussed Lamotte 1944–80: V 2294 n. 2); Takahata 1954: xx–xxv; Hirakawa 1960: 329–415; Hirakawa [1974] 1990: 268–269; Hahn 1985: Einleitung 16.
39 Pāli: paccuppannavatthu, atītavatthu, samodhāna.
40 Avadānaśataka nos. 1–10, 22–24, 26–30 are of the vyākaraṇa type.
41 The Theravādin jātakaṭṭbakathā is the obvious example (ed. Fausbøll 1879–97, tr. Cowell et al 1895). The Mahāvastu and the Saṅghabhedavastu division of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (ed. Gnoli 1977–78) are also rich troves as are Chavannes 1910–34, Frye 1981 and Willemen 1994. For avadāna-like narratives in the Theravādin Suttapiṭaka, see: Ambaṭṭha-sutta (DN i.94–97, tr. THIH 115–117), Kūṭadanta-sutta (DN i.134–144, tr. THIH 135–139). The 'past-life story' has been a favorite teaching device throughout Buddhist history and there is no reason to suspect that the Buddha himself did not tell such stories. Indeed, much of the impetus for this study derives from the dual conviction that the Buddha inaugurated traditions of story-telling as much he did traditions of meditation,

philosophy and ecclesiastical organization and that those narrative traditions merit and will repay the same close attention given to other texts.

42 Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā was composed 1052–54 C.E.

43 Although called 'Verses of the Elders' (Sthaviragāthā), many of these narratives have their close parallels, not in the Pāli Theragāthā, but in the Apadāna (Hofinger 1982: 8–9, 21–23). I here follow Hofinger's terminology.

44 On Buddhist and Jain traditions of 'ascetic poetry,' see Winternitz 1927–33: II 100 ff., 121, 125, 145–147, 468 ff.; Warder 1972–92: II 37–73.

45 Aśoka reigned circa 272–232 B.C.E. The four principal recensions of the legend are: Aśokarājāvadāna (A-yü-wang chuan, T 2042: vol. L, pp. 99a–131a), tr. Przyluski 1923: 225–427; Aśokarājasūtra (A-yü-wang-ching, T 2043: 131b–170a), tr. Li 1993; Saṃyuktāgama, T 99: vol. II, pp. 161b–170c; Aśokāvadāna (Divy XXVI–XXIX), tr. Strong 1983. For other sources, see Strong 1992: 9–10.

46 Lamotte ([1958] 1988: 239) and Strong (1983: 27) accept Przyluski's (1923) estimate of 150 B.C.E. for the earliest form of the Aśoka-legend. An important part of the evidence for this is that episodes from the legend are illustrated on the monuments at Sāñcī. Schlingloff (1982) has now raised doubts about this identification.

47 Bareau (1974: 261 ff.) suggests that the legends about the 'universal monarch' (cakravartin) which grew up around the Mauryan kings, especially Aśoka, together with the biographical material scattered in the canon, provided the model for many of the biographical episodes which later figured in the compilation of the various independent 'Lives' of the Buddha. A few of these, like the Nidānakathā, Buddhacarita, Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara are extant in Indic languages; most have survived only in Chinese translation (see Lamotte [1958] 1988: 653–662).

48 Sanskrit recension translated, with a wide-ranging analysis, in Strong 1983.

49 The Avadānaśataka (ed. Speyer 1902–09, tr. Feer 1891) was translated into Chinese (T 200) before 254 C.E. (Speyer 1902–09: II xv, Winternitz 1927–33: II 279, Lamotte [1958] 1988: 136).

50 Extant in Tibetan; summary translations in Feer 1901; a few stories translated and discussed in Przyluski & Lalou 1936.

51 Divjāvadāna (ed. Cowell-Neil 1886, ed. Vaidya 1959a): on the dates of its compilation, see Winternitz 1927–33: II 285–286, Warder 1980: 416.

52 On the late Vedic antecedents to the prose-and-verse type of narrative, see Oldenberg 1912.

53 Respectively Divjāvadāna I, II, XXVI–XXIX and XXXVI.

54 Such layman are the central characters in many Avadānaśataka stories, but their brevity and high concentration of purely formulaic passages leaves little room for injecting any personality into the characters.

55 The Pāli commentaries positively teem with narrative material. One can particularly recommend: Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (ed. Norman, tr. Burlingame), Anguttaranikājaṭṭhakathā (ed. Prasad) vol. I; Therīgāthaṭṭhakathā (ed. Chaudhary) and Therīgāthaṭṭhakathā (ed.-tr. Pruitt).

56 The Sumāgadhāvadāna (ed. Iwamoto) and Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna (ed.-tr. Rajapatirana) have come down to us as separate works. It is not unlikely that at an early period this was the norm. There are many Chinese translations of avadāna-jātaka collections. I mention here only a few of the more accessible ones: Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha-sūtra (T 152, tr. Chavannes 1910–34: I 1–346); Kṣudrakapiṭaka (T 203, tr. Willemen 1994); Dharmapādāvadāna-sūtra (T 211, partial tr. Beal 1878, repr. 1952); Damamūkanidāna-sūtra (T 202, tr. Frye 1981 [from Chinese by way of Tibetan and Mongolian]).

57 The tradition identifies two recensions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya: one, extant in Tibetan and Chinese and partially in Sanskit, which incorporated all the narrative traditions; and another, not extant, which relegated these to a commentary (Przyluski 1923: ix, Frauwallner 1956: 26–27, Lamotte [1958] 1988: 174–175, Lamotte 1944–80: III xvii, Gnoli 1977–78: II xvii–xxiii. All studies of narrative in this Vinaya should begin with Panglung 1981.

58 Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu: ed. Jayawickrama 1977, tr. Horner 1974.

59 Compare, for example, the Nidānakāthā (Jā i.2–92, tr. Jayawickrama [1951] 1990) with the Mahāvastu or Lalitavistara.

60 Buddhacarita (ed.-tr. Johnson [1935–37] 1984), Sandarananda (ed.-tr. Johnson 1928–32). See also Warder 1972–92: I 222, II 142–181.

61 See Lüders 1926; Huber 1908.

62 Michael Hahn and Ratna Handurukande are the current authorities on Buddhist kāvya. For an overview and bibliographies, see Hahn 1992, 1993.

63 Kalpadrumāvadānamālā: Ch. X, ed. Speyer 1902–09: II xxxvii–xci; XXV, ed. de Jong 1979.

64 On the avadānamālās and related literature, see Feer 1891: xvi–xxvii, Speyer 1902–09: II xiv–xci, Winternitz 1927–33: II 290–294, Takahata 1954, Iwamoto 1978: Ch. 4 (dubious dating arguments), Hahn 1985: 10–22 (bibliography of Buddhist narrative literature), Strong 1985, Strong 1992: 158–164; Tatelman 1997 II xi–xxii, 1998, 1999.

65 Divyāvadānamālā: unpublished; summary in Mitra 1882: 306–308 (A.8).

66 Dvāviṃśatyavadānakathā, ed. Okada 1993.

67 Mahajjātakamālā, ed. Hahn 1985.

68 Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka, ed.-tr. Yamada 1968.
69 Bhadrakalpāvadāna: Chs. II–V, ed-tr. Tatelman 1997; synopsis of II–IX, Tatelman 1998; II–III, tr. Tatelman 1999; XIV, ed. Chopra 1990: 28–46; XXXII, ed. Handurukande 1988.
70 Aśokāvadānamālā: Ch. V, ed. Bongard-Levin & Volkova 1965: 13–39; X, ed.-tr. Handurukande 1978; XII, ed. Handurukande 1984; XIII, ed.-tr. Hahn 1990; XXIV, ed. Iwamoto 1978: 217–230.
71 On Upagupta in Southeast Asia, see Strong 1992: 171 ff.; on Pūrṇa, see Duroiselle 1904.
72 That is, a Buddha who lacks the 32 primary and 80 secondary physical characteristics of a 'superman' (mahāpuruṣa).
73 On this last point, see Strong 1985, Strong 1992: 158–164.
74 "Then [Upagupta] reflected, 'How did the Tathāgata give an exposition of the Dharma?' Then he saw [in meditation] that the Buddha would give a step-by-step discourse and [only then] would elucidate the [Four Noble] Truths. So Upagupta, too, gave a step-by-step discourse and then began an elucidation of the Truths" (yāvad avalokayati katharṃ tathāgatena dharmadeśanā kṛtā. paśyati pūrvakālakaraṇīyām kathārṇ kṛtvā satyasaṃprakāśanā kṛtā. so 'pi pūrvakāla-karaṇīyāṃ kathāṃ krtvā satyasaṃprakaśanaṃ kartum ārabdhaḥ. Divy 222.13–15).
75 MN i.379, tr. MLN 485. See also Mv iii.257.10 ff.; DN i.110, tr. THIH 124; MN h.145, tr. MLN 753; Lamotte 1988: 77; Warder 1980: 187.
76 Mv v.85.25–26: tatr'āyam anupubbikathā.
77 Cf. Thomas (1947: 146) who interprets pūrvakālakaranīyā kathā as 'tale of former times,' thereby making the 'avadāna connection' quite explicit. His translation may be dubious; otherwise he was on the right track.
78 Divy XXI, 185.26 ff.; discussed, with additional references, Lamotte [1958] 1988: 77.
79 "Moreover, at night these young women study the Buddha's Word by lamplight for which [activity] is required birchbark, pen and ink as well as oil and wiek [for the lamp]" (api tv etā dārikā rātrau pradīpena buddhavacanam paṭhanti atra bhūrjena prayojanaṃ tailena masinā kalamayā tūlena. Divy XXXVI ed. Vaidya 457.17–18).
80 See Ḥdul-ba, Derge (Sde-dge) edition, vols. Ka, folia 295b4–310b7 & Kha, folia 2al–8a3; Ḥdul-ba, Peking edition, vols. 41 (khe), folia 276a-end & 42 (ge), folia 1a–6b.
81 Divy (ed. Cowell-Neil) 24–55; (ed. Vaidya) 15–33.
82 Huber 1906, Lévi 1907, Winternitz 1927–33: II 284–285; Ch'en 1947, 1953.
83 Huber 1908, Lüders 1926.
84 Klaus 1983: 1–22.
85 Iwamoto 1978: 143–148, esp. 143, 148.
86 See Schlingloff 1989 and 1991.
87 On the Buddha as paradigmatic saint, see Ray 1994: 48–59. Many of the 35 features characteristic of the primordial Buddhist saint also apply to Pūrṇa.
88 I here refer to Vaidya's edition in Devanāgarī seript; the story oecupies 31 pages in Cowell and Neil's Roman-script edition.
89 See Bailey 1950.
90 Cowell and Neil 1886: vi–vii.
91 On the minor divergences between the Tibetan (MSV) and Sanskrit (Divy) texts of the Pūrṇāvadāna, see Bailey 1950.
92 Prebish 1994: 84–85.
93 Gnoli 1977–78: II xvii–xxi.
94 Following Huber 1906 and Lévi 1907, most scholars accept that the nineteen stories which the Divjāvadāna has in common with the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaja were 'borrowed' by the former from the latter. Przyluski (1929), however, argues that both depend on an earlier, common source.
95 Saṃjuktāgama (Tsa-a-han, tr. 435–443 C.E.): T 99, chüan 8, no. 215: vol. II, pt. 2, p. 54b2–21 and T 99, chūan 13, no. 311: vol. II, pt. 2, p. 89bl-c23; MN iii.267–260, tr. MLD 1117–1119; SN iv.60–63, tr. KS IV 34–36. Which Buddhist 'school' produced the Saṃjuktāgama from which the Chinese translation was made is not certain – most likely Sarvāstivādin or Mūlasarvāstivādin. Here I follow the most recent assessment of the evidence (Schmithausen 1987: 311–313).
96 Divy (ed. Vaidya) 22.21–24.24; tr. (fr. Cowell-Neil ed.) Thomas 1950: 40–43.
97 Theragāthā (ed. Oldenberg) 60, tr. Rhys Davids 1909–13: II 70–71.
98 Warder 1980: 228–234.
99 This reckoning grants that the traditional Sinhalese date of the first century B.C.E. (Lamotte 1988: 367–368) for the writing down of the Pāli Canon is correct and that, moreover, no changes were made after that period. The second of these assumptions in particular is open to question.
100 Norman 1983: 92.
101 Cutler 1994: 31–32.
102 ThagA (Nālandā ed.) i.228.7–231.16, tr. Appendix 2.

103 Apadāna (ed. Lilley) ii.341; Puṇṇa-therāpadāna incorporated in ThagA i.229.13–230.16 (tr. Appendix 2). The Apadāna Commentary (Visuddhaja-navilāsinī ed. Godakumbura, p. 484, no. 402) comments on the Puṇṇa-therāpadāna, but it is a late composition (eleventh century) and does little more than refer the reader to the Apadāna. Interestingly enough, it does mention that in the former birth in which he encountered the solitary buddha, Puṇṇa was not a Brahmin ascetic, but rather a yakkha general!
104 MA v.84–92 (cf. SA ii.373–380; Duroiselle 1904: 157–167).
105 Warder 1980: 321–322; Lamotte [1958] 1988: 557–558.
106 On the practice of honouring deceased monks with shrines (stūpa, caitja), see Schopen 1997: 165–203.
107 Fa-chü p'i-yü ching, T 211: vol. IV, p. 588b9-c26; tr. Beal 1952: 46.
108 A full translation by Charles Willemen is forthcoming from the Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research (Berkeley) as BDK English Tripitaka Series 10–II.
109 ThagA i.230.20–21.
110 Speyer (1902–1908: II xiv–xv) datas the Avadānaśataka, which was translated into Chinese in the mid-third century, to around 100 C.E. I am not aware of any revisions of this estimate.
111 Avś i.1–7, tr. Feer 24–28.
112 Compare Avś i.2.9–3.1, tr. Feer 25 with Divy (ed. Vaidya) 26.22–27.1.
113 Another avadāna collection, the (perhaps) 2nd century Karmaśataka (Bk. VIII, no. 1), contains another version of this story which lacks the rooftop pūjā (tr. Feer 1883: 382–385).
114 Avś ii.166.6–8, tr. Feer 404.
115 Mv iii.461.13–14, tr. Jones III 462.
116 Jones 1949–56: I xi.
117 On the numerous sources concerning Dharmaruci, see Lamotte 1944–80: I 409–415; in no other version of the Dharmaruci legend, including Divy XVIII, do we find the Stavakarṇika-Pūrṇa episode.
118 Compare Mv i.243–246 (esp. 245.1–246.1), tr. 198–201 (esp. 200–201) with Divy 24.32–26.9.
119 Johnson [1935–37] 1984: Pt. II, p. xvii.
120 Buddhacarita XXI.22–23, tr. Johnson [1935–37] 1984: Pt. III, pp. 56–57.
121 Roman transliteration according to the Wade-Giles system.
122 T 1425, chüan 23: vol. XXII, pp. 415a29–416a21. Lévi (1915: 410–412) partially summarizes and partially translates a portion of this narrative.
123 Vin ii.154–159 (Cullavagga VI.4.1–10), tr. VT III 179–189, tr. BD V 216–223; Mūlasarvāstivādin recension (contains much additional material): Śayanāsanavastu (ed. Gnoli 1978) 13–30 = Saṇghabhedavastu (ed. Gnoli 1977–78) ii. 11–31. For a convenient account of Anāthapiṇḍika's life and character as compiled from Theravādin sources, see Nyanaponika & Hecker 1997: 337–362.
124 On this, see Lévi 1915: 1–17.
125 This corresponds to the Arthavargīja-sūtras mentioned in the Pūrṇāvadāna and Śroṇakoṭikarṇāvadāna (Divy 1; T 1447: 1048c–1053c) and, in Pāli, to the Aṭṭhavaggika-suttas. See Lévi 1915 and Lamotte [1958] 1988: 156–161. On Koṭikarṇa, see Lamotte 1944–80: I 546–547 n. 3.
126 Lévi 1915: 410.
127 Lévi 1915: 416–417, Lamotte 1944–80: I 547 n. 3.
128 E.g., Vin i.194–198. See also Lamotte [1958] 1988: 327.
129 These, of course, are simply the feminine forms of Puṇṇa and Puṇṇaka (Skt.: Pūrṇa, Pūrṇaka), both of which are applied to the hero in the Pūrṇāvadāna and other sources.
130 Further details and references: DPPN I 227–228; Horner 1930: 181.
131 Sumāgadhāvadāna: ed. Iwamoto 1959 (Skt.), ed. 1964 (Tibetan), ed.-tr. 1968 (Skt., Chinese).
132 Iwamoto 1968: 84. For side-by-side comparison of passages from the two texts, see Iwamoto 1978: 66–68.
133 Iwamoto 1968: 84.
134 Iwamoto 1968: 141 (tr. from Chinese).
135 Iwamoto 1968: 142–143.
136 Iwamoto 1968: 84–85.
137 Iwamoto 1968: 85, 149.
138 Iwamoto 1968: 85, 149.
139 MN i.477–478 (§§ 14–16), tr. MLD 580–581; SN ii.114–117, tr. KS ii.81–83; Ray 1994: 198–203.
140 Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka's accomplishment cannot but remind one of Ānanda's attainment of arhatship on the occasion of the First Council (VT III 373–374: Cullavagga XI.1.6). A pressing matter fraught with status issues inspires both monks to attain arhatship (Ānanda, though, takes all night). Przyluski (1926–28) translates and compares various accounts of Ānanda's arhatship.
141 For a Theravādin version of the Sumāgadhā-story which entirely lacks the elements common to the Sumāgadhāvadāna and Pūrṇāvadāna, see the story of Visākhā (DhpA i.384–419, tr. BL II 59–84). For a version

which incorporates several of the elements common to the Sanskrit texts, see the story of Cullā Subhaddā (DhpA iii.465–471, tr. BL III 184–187).

142 Strong 1983: 37.
143 Strong 1983: 37.
144 On these terms, see Wellek & Warren 1949: 73, 94, 139.
145 Bruner 1986: 9–10. Woodward (1997) and Collins (1998) have also made good use of Bruner's work which synthesizes so well much current literary theory.
146 I am happy to report that since this study was first drafted (1988), historians of religion have begun to take Buddhist narrative seriously. In their differing ways and with their differing emphases, John Strong (1983, 1992), Liz Wilson (1996), Gregory Schopen (1997), Jonathan Walters (1997) and Steven Collins (1998) – to name only a few – have demonstrated the value for historical study of attending carefully to narrative and its literary strategies. If I may commit a generalization, where their work and (in this study) mine differ, is a matter of emphasis, of orientation: mine on the single work, theirs on some historical reality or set of attitudes outside it. We meet frequently, but call two different places home.
147 Alter 1981: 19.
148 Alter 1981: 12.
149 Alter 1981: 19.
150 Alter 1981: 11–12.
151 Alter 1981: 21.
152 Alter 1981: 178.
153 Relative, that is, to the study of language, doctrine, philosophy/theology and history.
154 Schopen 1997: 1 ff.
155 Sangharakshita 1985: 106.
156 Bruner 1986: 11.
157 Bruner 1986: 13–14.
158 So Warder (1980: x, 334–335). While Lamotte ([1958] 1988) takes a somewhat more integrated view, he still makes the same fundamental distinction: the bulk of the book examines history and doctrine, with, tellingly, the final chapter (pp. 635–710) reserved for a discussion of "The Buddhist Religion."
159 On this, open Schopen 1997 at almost any page. More specific references to this volume of collected papers will be given at appropriate points in the actual analysis of the Pūrṇāvadāna.
160 On the Laotian monastic libraries, see Strong 1992: xi (citing Finot 1917). In his (I hope) soon-to-be-published paper, "Avadānas, Monks and Monastic Libraries in Ancient Gandhāra," Tim Lenz (Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington) points out that of the Prakrit manuscripts recently found in Afghanistan, fully one-quarter are of the avadāna type; moreover, he argues that such literature may have formed an central, not ancillary, part of monastic curricula.
161 Woodward 1997: 43–49.
162 The author wishes to make the obvious affirmation of the enormous importance of Nāgārjuna and of many of the studies scholars have dedicated to his thought. This, he thinks, does not affect the contention that scholars of Indian Buddhism have focused disproportionately on certain kinds of evidence and certain types of genres.
163 Alter 1981: 19.
164 Alter 1981: 180.
165 Alter 1981: 180.
166 Alter 1981: 182.
167 Alter 1981: 182.
168 Alter 1981: 183.
169 Alter 1981: 183.
170 Alter 1981: 24–25.
171 Alter 1981: 32.
172 Alter 1981: 32.
173 Alter 1981: 28.
174 Oldenburg 1893, Oldenberg 1912.
175 Alter 1981: 188.
176 Alter 1981: 15.

CHAPTER TWO

The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa (Pūrṇāvadāna)[1]

The Lord was staying at Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada's park in Prince Jeta's Grove. At that same time there lived in the city of Sūrpāraka[2] a householder by the name of Bhava. He was wealthy, having a great deal of money and other possessions. His properties were extensive and he had produced enormous wealth. Indeed, his wealth rivalled that of the God of Wealth, Vaiśravaṇa himself.[3]

Bhava took a wife from a family similar to his own. He enjoyed himself with her, made love to her and otherwise dallied with her. Some time passed in this way, and his wife became pregnant. After the passage of eight or nine months, she gave birth to a son.

Three weeks, that is, twenty-one days later, Bhava performed the birth-ceremonies and settled upon a name. "What name should the child be given?"

His relatives said, "This boy is the son of Bhava; let him, therefore, be given the name Bhavila, 'Little Bhava'." And so he was named.[4]

Again Bhava enjoyed himself with his wife, made love to her and otherwise dallied with her, and another son was born. He was given the name Bhavatrāta, 'Bhava's Protector'. Some time after that another son was born, and he was named Bhavanandin, 'Bhava's Joy'.

Some time later, the householder Bhava fell ill and because of his exceedingly abusive language, his wife and even his sons would have nothing to do with him. He had, however, a slave-girl, who thought to herself: "In so many ways[5] my master has accumulated wealth. Now he has fallen ill, and his wife and even his sons will have nothing to do with him. It would not be right for me to ignore him, too." So she went to see the doctor and said, "Sir, do you know the householder Bhava?"

"I do. What of him?"

"He is suffering from some kind of illness. His wife and even his sons will have nothing to do with him. Please prescribe some appropriate medicines."

Said the doctor, "Girl, you yourself say that your master is ignored by his wife and even by his sons. Who, then, is taking care of him?"

She replied, "I am taking care of him. In any case, please prescribe some inexpensive medicines." [And so] the doctor recommended certain medicinal herbs.

She collected some [appropriate herbs] from her own supplies, took others from the household supplies and began treatment.[6] Bhava regained his health. Later he thought, "My wife and even my sons ignored me. That I have recovered is entirely due to this girl.

I must therefore reciprocate her kindness." Bhava addressed her: "Young woman, my wife and even my sons ignored me. That I am alive is entirely due to you. Tell me – what reward can I offer you?"[7]

She replied, "Master, if you are pleased with me, let me have sexual relations with you."

He rejoined, "What's the point of you having sex with me? I can offer you five hundred silver coins and send you off as a free woman!"

She said, "Master,[8] whether living far away from here or even in the next life, I shall still be a slave; but if I have sexual relations with a man of the upper classes (āryaputra), I shall thereby become a free woman."[9]

Realizing her determined obstinance, he declared, "Young woman, when you are in your fertile period and in good health,[10] let me know." Later, in good health and having reached her fertile period, she informed him. Then she had sexual relations with the householder Bhava and conceived. And the very day on which she conceived marked the fulfillment of all Bhava's goals and all of his undertakings.[11]

After eight or nine months she gave birth. It was a boy. He was well-formed, good-looking, handsome, with a golden complexion, a large, round head,[12] long arms, a broad brow, eyebrows that joined and a prominent nose. On the very day that boy was born, to an even greater degree than before, all of the householder Bhava's goals and all of his undertakings were fulfilled.[13]

Three weeks, that is, twenty-one days later, Bhava's relatives arrived and assembled. As before, they performed the birth-ceremony and a name – Pūrṇa, 'Fulfilled' – was settled upon the boy. He was given over [to the care of] eight nurses – two to carry him about, [two as wet-nurses, two to bathe him and two to play with him. Raised by these eight nurses, who nourished him with milk, clotted milk, fresh butter, clarified butter and its by-products, and other pure and choice foods], the boy Pūrṇa grew rapidly, like a lotus in a deep lake.[14]

When he grew older, Pūrṇa was entrusted to teachers of letters, arithmetic, accounting, finance, debt-collection and commercial law. He also learned to inspect and assess textiles,[15] real estate, lumber,[16] jewels, elephants, horses and young men and women.[17] He became an expounder, an explainer, a scholar, an expert in the evaluation of these eight [valuable commodities].

Then the householder Bhava arranged marriages for his [three older] sons in order of seniority, beginning with Bhavila. But they and their wives kept to themselves, filled with passion, preoccupied with adorning themselves, indulging themselves immoderately in that which should be regarded as unimportant.[18]

As a result of this, the householder Bhava, too, kept to himself and, head in his hands, lost himself in anxious thought. He was thus observed by his sons, who asked him, "Papa, why do keep to yourself, with your hand in your hands, lost in anxious thought?"

He replied, "My sons, I did not marry until I had amassed a hundred thousand gold coins. All of you, however, infatuated with your wives, indulge yourselves immoderately in that which should be regarded as unimportant and bedeck yourselves with costly

ornaments. After my death, this will become a pitiful house! How can I not lose myself in anxious thought?"

Bhavila had been wearing a jewelled earring. He removed it, and having put on a wooden one, made a vow: "I shall not wear a jewelled earring until I, too, have amassed a hundred thousand gold coins." And his two brothers donned a lac and a tin earring respectively. Thereafter their names – Bhavila, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin – were forgotten and they became known as 'Wood-Earring,' 'Lac-Earring' and 'Tin-Earring'. Then those brothers supplied themselves with trade-goods and set out on the great ocean.

Pūrṇa said, "Father, I, too, shall set out on the great ocean," but his father replied, "Son, you are still a child. Stay here and take care of the family business." And so Pūrṇa stayed there at home [in Sūrpāraka]. As for the others, [after a time], they returned, their ship safe and sound. After recovering from the fatigue of travel, they said, "Father, tally our profits." He did so – and each had earned one hundred thousand gold coins.[19] As for Pūrṇa, right there [in the shop in Sūrpāraka], he had earned, through honest trade, far more than a hundred thousand gold coins.[20] Pūrṇa flung himself at his father's feet and said, "Father, tally the wealth earned in my shop."

Bhavila replied, "My son, you have been here [in Sūrpāraka] all this time. What can you have earned?"

Said Pūrṇa, "Father, let it be counted. Then its value will be known." When it was counted, leaving aside the capital with which he had started out, there was [far] more than a hundred thousand gold coins.[21] The householder Bhava, pleased and delighted, thought, "Truly he is a being who is great due to merit [acquired in previous births] to have earned this much money while staying right here [in Sūrpāraka]!"

Some time later, the householder Bhava fell ill. He thought, "After my death, these sons of mine shall have a falling-out. Some kind of stratagem [for preventing this] must be devised. And so he said to them, "My dear sons, collect some sticks of wood." They brought some wood. Then he said, "Light a fire with them." They lit a fire. After a while, the householder Bhava said, "Remove the hot coals, one by one." They removed all of the coals and the fire was extinguished. Bhava asked, "My sons, did you see [what happened]?" "Father," [they replied], "we saw!"

At that, Bhava recited the following verse:

"Brothers united glow brightly, like a mass of hot coals;
Divided, both men and coals expire."

"My sons, after I am gone, do not be swayed by your wives.
"Families are divided by women, clever men[22] by words;
"Just as faulty recitation destroys a spell's efficacy, so greed destroys affection."

The others departed.[23] Bhavila, the eldest, remained. His father told him, "Son, you must never forsake Pūrṇa. He is a being who is great due to merit [acquired in previous births]!"

"All accumulation ends in loss, all exaltation in decline, All union in separation, and all life in death."[24]

After reciting these verses, Bhava submitted to the law of time.

Bhava's sons adorned the funeral bier with cloth of dark blue, yellow, red and white,[25] and in accordance with the solemn rite,[26] bore Bhava to the burning-ground and there cremated him. Later, after recovering from their grief, they said, "When our father was alive, we were dependent on him. If we now give ourselves up to that which should be regarded as unimportant, our family will go into decline. We would be blamed by our kinsmen.[27] Suppose now we take trade-goods and travel to foreign lands."

Pūrṇa spoke up. "In that case, I want to go, too."

His brothers told him, "No, you stay and do business right here in our shop. We'll be the ones to go overseas." And so, taking trade-goods, they set out for foreign parts. Pūrṇa, entrusted with all responsibilities [in Sūrpāraka], remained behind.

Now it was the practice among well-to-do families for house-keeping money to be distributed on a daily basis. The brothers' wives sent their maidservants to get their housekeeping money. Pūrṇa, however, [they found] surrounded by wealthy men, guild-masters,[28] caravan-leaders[29] and others who lived by commerce, and so the maidservants did not get the opportunity [to see him]. When the men rose[30] and departed, Pūrṇa gave the maidservants the housekeeping money. But when the girls returned after such a long absence, they were reprimanded. They explained [to their mistresses] the reason for their tardiness, giving all the details, and declared, "Well, that's what happens to those in families where the sons of slave-girls run things as they will!"

Bhavila's wife addressed her maidservant: "You should go [to see Pūrṇa] when you know the time is right." Now that the girl knew just the right time, she set off and quickly obtained [the housekeeping money]. But the others[31] [still] took a long time. They questioned their fellow servant, saying, "How is it that you obtain [the housekeeping money] so quickly?." She gave them a complete account.[32] And so they began to go with her and to obtain [the housekeeping money] without delay. Later, the women questioned them: "How is it that now you return so quickly?"

The maidservants replied, "May Eldest Brother's wife enjoy good health![33] When her maidservant goes [to see Pūrṇa], she receives the housekeeping money without delay. We [now] accompany her."

The wives of the two younger brothers grew angry and said, "That's what happens to those in families where the sons of slave-girls run things as they will!"

In time, Bhavila, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, all together, united, conversing amiably, returned from across the great ocean, their ship safe and sound. Bhavila asked his wife, "My dear, did Pūrṇa take proper care of you?"

She told him, "As if he were my own son or brother." The other two wives were questioned [in the same way] by their husbands, whom they told, "That's what happens to those in families where the sons of slave-girls run things as they will!"

The two men thought, "Women cause divisions among friends."

On another occasion, Pūrṇa was offering for sale Benares silk cloth.[34] Just then Bhavila's son arrived. He was clad by Pūrṇa in two lengths of fine Benares silk. Seeing this, the wives of the other two brothers sent their own sons, just when Pūrṇa had run out of silk and had started to sell coarse cotton cloth. So, as luck would have it,[35] when they arrived, they were clad [by Pūrṇa] in coarse cotton.

The two women, seeing this, said to their husbands, "You see! The other boy was given fine Benares silk while our sons received only cheap cotton!" The two men offered the following explanation: "What can be done about it? It's just that [by the time our sons arrived] Pūrṇa had run out of silk and was selling coarse cotton."

On another occasion, Pūrṇa was selling sweets. Bhavila's son went to [the shop] and received some pastries. Seeing this, the wives of the other two brothers sent their sons, but, as luck would have it, they arrived when Pūrṇa had begun to sell molasses, and so the boys were given molasses. Seeing this, the two women carried on so much that their husbands undertook to divide the joint family.

The husbands conferred together. "We are lost either way. We must divide the family." One said, "We should talk to our elder brother." The other said, "First let us decide how we should divide [the family's wealth]." The two came up with a plan: "One [of us] gets the house and the land, one gets the shop and the foreign holdings, and one gets Pūrṇaka. If our elder brother takes the house and the land, the we will be able to maintain ourselves with the shop and foreign holdings. And if he takes the shop and the overseas trade, we will still be able to maintain ourselves with the house and land and by using Pūrṇa for our own ends." After conferring in this way, the two paid a visit to Bhavila. "Brother, it's no use; let us divide the family."

Said Bhavila, "We should act only after having thought it over carefully – women cause division in families."

The other two replied, "We have already thought it over.[36] Let us make the division."

Bhavila said, "Well, if that is so, let us call some relatives [to mediate]."[37]

Said the other two, "We've already decided on what the division should be. One [of us] gets the house and land, one gets the shop and the overseas trade, and one gets Pūrṇaka."

"Have you not offered Pūrṇa a share?"

"He is the son of a slave-girl! Who would give him a share? On the contrary, we have considered him as part of the property that is to be divided. If you want him, then take him!"

Bhavila thought, "I was told by our father: 'Even if you [have to] forsake all your worldly possessions, you must take care of Pūrṇa.' I will take Pūrṇa." And having decided this, he said, "If that is so, then I shall have Pūrṇaka"[38]

Then the brother who received the house and land, making haste, went to the house and called out, "Elder Brother's wife![39] Come out!" She came out. "You may never again enter this house."

"Why?"

"We have divided the family's holdings. [This house is mine]."

As for the brother who received the shop and the foreign trade, he, making haste, went to the shop and said, "Pūrṇa, come down!" He came down. "You may never enter this shop again."

"What is the reason?"

"We have divided the family's holdings.[40] [This shop is mine]."

And so Bhavila's wife, accompanied by Pūrṇa, set out for the home of some relatives. The children were hungry and began to cry. She said, "Pūrṇa, get the children some breakfast."

He said, "Give me a few coins."

She replied, "In the course of doing business many hundreds of thousands of gold coins passed through your hands – is there not enough [left] even for the children's breakfast?"

Said Pūrṇa, "How could I have known that our family would end up like this? Had I known this would happen, I would have appropriated several hundred thousand."

It was, however, the practice among women to tie a few brass coins in the hem of their saris; Bhavila's wife gave Pūrṇa a brass coin,[41] saying, "Bring some breakfast!"

Taking the money, Pūrṇa set out for the market. [On the way] he saw a man carrying a load of wood that had been washed up on the seashore. The fellow was trembling with cold as he trudged along. Pūrṇa addressed him. "Greetings, my good man. Why are you trembling so?"

The man replied, "I don't know. I picked up this load of wood and since then I've been in this condition."

Now Pūrṇa was expert in the assessment of [different types] of wood. He undertook to examine the load of wood and saw that it was yellow sandalwood.[42] He asked the man, "Good fellow, what price would you take [for this wood]?"

"Five hundred silver coins."[43]

Pūrṇa [accepted this price], took the load of yellow sandalwood and carried it off. He proceeded to the market, where, with a saw, he cut off four small pieces. These he sold to be ground into fragrant powder for one thousand silver coins. He then paid the man his five hundred coins and told him, "The wife of Bhavila lives in such-and-such a house. Take this load of wood there and tell her Pūrṇa sent it."

The man took the wood to the house just as Pūrṇa had instructed and recounted all that had happened. Bhavila's wife gave him a blow on the chest and cried, "If Pūrṇa is bereft of money, is he also bereft of sense? 'Bring some cooked food,' I told him, and he sends firewood for cooking! There is nothing to cook!"

Using the money that was left over, Pūrṇa purchased and brought to Bhavila and his wife such necessities of life as a man-and a maid-servant, cattle and water-buffaloes, and cooked food. This gave the family great satisfaction.

Some time later, the king of Sūrpāraka became ill with a high fever. His physicians prescribed yellow sandalwood and so his ministers undertook a search for some. In the marketplace they talked to one person after another. Then they paid a visit to Pūrṇa, whom they asked, "Have you any yellow sandalwood?"

He told them, "I have."

They asked, "What is the price?"

Pūrṇa replied, "A thousand silver coins."

The ministers bought some for a thousand coins. After an ointment [prepared from the sandalwood] was given to the king, he regained his health. The king considered: "Now what sort of king is he in whose home there is no yellow ("ox-head") sandalwood?"[44] Then he asked, "From whom was this obtained?"

"Your Majesty, from Pūrṇa."

"Summon this Pūrṇa fellow."

[A short while later], a messenger arrived and announced, "Pūrṇa, the king summons you."

Pūrṇa began to think, "Why does the king summon me?" And then it occurred to him. "By using the yellow sandalwood the king has regained his health. That is why he summons me. Well, then, I must certainly go and take the yellow sandalwood with me."

Having concealed three pieces of the yellow sandalwood under his garment, and carrying one piece in his hand, Pūrṇa went before the king. The king asked him, "Pūrṇa, do you have any [more] yellow sandalwood?"

"Your Majesty, I have this piece."

"What is the price?"

"Your Majesty, a hundred thousand gold coins."

"Have you any more?"

"Yes, Your Majesty, I have." And Pūrṇa showed the king the other three pieces. The king commanded his ministers, "Give Pūrṇa four hundred thousand gold coins."

Said Pūrṇa, "Your Majesty, give three hundred thousand. One piece is a gift to Your Majesty." And so Pūrṇa received three hundred thousand gold coins.

The king said, "Pūrṇa, I am well pleased. Tell me: what boon shall I grant you?"

Pūrṇa replied, "If Your Majesty is pleased with me, may I be permitted to live in Your Majesty's kingdom undisturbed?"

The king commanded his ministers, "Sirs, from this day forth, you may give orders even to the crown princes, but not to Pūrṇa."

In the meantime, five hundred merchants, sailing in from the great ocean, their ship safe and sound, arrived in the city of Sūrpāraka. The merchants' guild [of Sūrpāraka then] made a rule:[45] "No one of us – who must act in unison – may approach these [visiting] merchants independently. Only the guild as a body may purchase their goods. Anyone who deals with those merchants on his own shall be fined sixty silver coins".[46]

Some of the merchants said, "Let us inform Pūrṇa." Others declared, "What does that wretch have that he should be informed?"[47]

Just then, Pūrṇa went outside where he heard about those five hundred merchants who had arrived in Sūrpāraka from across the great ocean with their ships safe and sound. Without entering the city, he went directly into their presence and asked them, "Sirs, what have you got?" They showed him.

"What is the price?"

They replied, "Caravan-leader, since you have travelled far and wide [and know the value of things], only you can name a price."

"That may be so," said Pūrṇa. "Nevertheless, name your price." They indicated a price

of one million eight hundred thousand gold coins. Pūrṇa said, "Sirs, take three hundred thousand as a deposit; I have that much. I shall give you the balance [later]."

"Very well."

So Pūrṇa had three hundred thousand gold coins brought and paid them [to the visiting merchants]. He then affixed his seal [to the merchandise] and departed.

Meanwhile, the merchants' guild despatched their agents: "Take a look. What merchandise have they got?" The agents went and asked, "What have you got?" They showed them.

"Our storerooms and warehouses are filled with such merchandise."[48]

"They may be full or not – everything's already sold."

"To whom?"

"To Pūrṇa."

"Will you make a good profit by having sold it all to Pūrṇa[49]?"

Said the merchants, "What he paid as deposit you wouldn't even pay as the full price."

"What did he give as deposit?"

"Three hundred thousand gold coins."

"He has well and truly cheated his brothers!"

The agents returned and informed the merchants' guild, "The merchandise has already been sold."

"To whom?"

"To Pūrṇa."

"Did they make a good profit by having sold it to Pūrṇa?"

"What he paid in deposit you wouldn't even pay as the full price."

"What did he pay as deposit?"

"Three hundred thousand gold coins."

"He has well and truly cheated his brothers!"

The merchants' guild summoned Pūrṇa and told him: "Pūrṇa, the merchants' guild made a rule, that 'no one may independently purchase merchandise [from the visiting merchants]; only the guild as a body shall do so.' Why, then, did you purchase the goods on your own?"

Pūrṇa answered, "Sirs, when you made the rule, were either my brother [Bhavila] or myself informed?[50] It was you alone who made the rule and it is you alone who must abide by it."

At that, the members of the merchants' guild became angry and forcibly exposed Pūrṇa to the scorching sun[51] in order to make him pay the fine of sixty silver coins. Officers of the Crown saw Pūrṇa and they apprised the king [of his predicament]. The king said, "Sirs, summon those men." Pūrṇa and the members of the merchants' guild were summoned. Said the king, "Why did you forcibly expose Pūrṇa to the scorching sun?"

The guildmembers replied, "Lord, the merchants' guild made a rule – 'No one may independently purchase merchandise [from the foreign merchants].' Pūrṇa, however, did just that."

Pūrṇa spoke up. "Your Majesty, ask them whether, when they made this rule, they informed either myself or my brother."

The guildmembers admitted, "No, Your Majesty, we did not."

Declared the king, "Sirs, Pūrṇa speaks truly." Ashamed, the guildmembers released Pūrṇa.

Later, a need arose on the part of the king for some of that merchandise. He summoned the members of the merchants' guild and told them, "Sirs, I have need of some of that merchandise. You shall supply it."

They said, "Your Majesty, it belongs to Pūrṇa."

The king told them, "Sirs, I do not give orders to him. You shall purchase it from him and bring it to me."

The merchants' guild sent a messenger to Pūrṇa: "The merchants' guild summons you."

But Pūrṇa replied, "I shall not come."

Then all the merchants of the guild assembled and went to Pūrṇa's house where, standing at the gate, they again sent in a messenger. "Pūrṇa, please come out! The merchants' guild has arrived and its members are waiting at the gate."

Impelled by pride, his own wishes and a sense of his own importance, Pūrṇa came out.[52] The guildmembers said, "O great caravan-leader, sell us [some] merchandise for the same price you paid."

Pūrṇa said, "I would be an exceptional trader indeed were I to sell you merchandise for the same price I paid!"[53]

They replied, "O caravan-leader,[54] sell it for twice what you paid – [we], the members of the guild, are honourable men."

Pūrṇa reflected: "The members of the guild should be treated respectfully; I will sell [it at that price]. And he sold the merchandise for twice the price he had paid.

Pūrṇa paid a million and a half gold coins to the foreign merchants;[55] the rest he stored in his house. Then he thought, "Is it possible to fill a jar with dew-drop[s]? I shall cross the great ocean."

Pūrṇa had the proclamation-bell rung in Sūrpāraka City. "Hear ye, merchants of Sūrpāraka! Pūrṇa, the caravan-leader, shall cross the great ocean! Whomsoever amongst you wishes to cross the great ocean with the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, free from customs duties, escort charges and freight fees, he is to gather together the trade-goods he wishes to take with him across the great ocean."

Merchants numbering five hundred gathered together trade-goods to take across the great ocean. Then the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, having impatiently performed the rites to ensure a safe and successful journey, accompanied by those five hundred merchants, set out across the great ocean. And [in time], he returned, his ship safe and sound. Six times he crossed the great ocean in this way. The word spread about in the vicinity: "Six times Pūrṇa has crossed the great ocean and returned, his ship safe and sound."

Meanwhile, some merchants from Śrāvastī, equipping themselves with trade-goods, travelled [overland] to the city of Sūrpāraka. After recovering from the fatigue of travel, they went to see Pūrṇa, the great caravan-leader. When they arrived [at Pūrṇa's house], they said to him, "Great caravan-leader, we must cross the great ocean."[56]

Pūrṇa said, "Sirs, have you seen or heard about someone who has returned six times from across the great ocean, his ship safe and sound, and who is setting out a seventh

time?”

They replied, “Pūrṇa, from afar we have come to seek you out, but if you won’t cross the ocean, that’s up to you.”

Pūrṇa reflected, “Though I do not seek any more wealth, I shall nevertheless cross [the ocean] for their sake.” And so Pūrṇa, accompanied by those merchants, set out on the great ocean.

At night, at the time just before dawn, those merchants chanted in their entirety ‘The Exultations’ (Udāna), ‘The Way to the Further Shore’ (Pārāyaṇa), ‘Discerning the Truth’ (Satyadṛṣṭi), ‘Verses of the Elders’ (Sthaviragāthā), ‘Verses Concerning Śaila’ (Śailagāthā), ‘The Sage’s Verses’ (Munigāthā) and ‘Sayings Concerning the Goal’ (Arthavargīya Sūtras).[57] After listening to them, Pūrṇa exclaimed, “Sirs, you sing beautiful songs!”

They replied, “Caravan-leader, these are not [mere] songs! How could you possibly think that? These are the words of the Awakened One, the Buddha!”[58]

Hearing the title, ‘the Buddha,’ which he had never heard before, Pūrṇa got goose-bumps all over. Very respectfully, he asked, “Sirs, who is this person called ‘the Buddha’?”

The Śrāvastī merchants told him, “There is an ascetic by the name of Gautama, a prince of the Śākya lineage who, having cut off his beard and hair and donned yellow garments, with right faith went forth from his home into the homeless life. He has fully awakened to Supreme, Perfect Awakening. He, O great caravan-leader, is called ‘the Buddha,’ the Awakened One.”

“Sirs, where is this holy one now staying?”

“Caravan-leader, he is staying in Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada’s park in Prince Jeta’s Grove.”

Bearing the Buddha in his heart, Pūrṇa, accompanied by those merchants, crossed the great ocean and then returned with the ship safe and sound. Pūrṇa’s brother Bhavila thought, “He has been exhausted by his voyages across the great ocean. I should arrange a marriage for him.” And so he said to Pūrṇa, “Tell me, brother. Of the two – a rich landowner or a caravan-leader – which should I ask on your behalf for his daughter in marriage?”

Pūrṇa replied, “I am not seeking the pleasures of love. If you will permit it, I shall go forth [into the homeless life of a religious mendicant].”

Said Bhavila, “When there was nothing to live on in our house, you did not go forth into the homeless life. Why do you wish to go forth now [that we are rich]?”[59]

Pūrṇa told him, “Brother, then it held no attraction for me; now it is the right thing to do.” Realizing that Pūrṇa was resolutely determined, Bhavila gave his permission.

Then Pūrṇa said, “Brother, on the great ocean there is much sorrow and little joy. Many cross; few return. You must on no account cross the great ocean. Your considerable wealth has been justly acquired, but not so that of your brothers. If they should say, ‘Let us all live together [again],’ you must refuse.” Having spoken thus, Pūrṇa took one servant and set out for Śrāvastī. In due course he arrived in that city.

In Śrāvastī, Pūrṇa settled himself in a park and then despatched a messenger to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada.[60] The messenger went and said to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada, “Householder, the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, who is staying in a park [in

Śrāvastī], wishes to see the master of the house."

Anāthapiṇḍada reflected, "It must be that he is tired of ocean-travel and has now come [trading] overland." So he asked, "Good fellow, has Pūrṇa brought a great quantity of trade-goods?"

The messenger replied, "How would he have trade-goods? But for one manservant, he has come alone. There's just he and I."

Thinking, "It would be improper of me to bring this eminent man into my home without offering him my hospitality," Anāthapiṇḍada received Pūrṇa into his home with grand hospitality: he was bathed, massaged with scented oils, and given a meal. [Afterwards], as the two men [sat and] talked freely, Anāthapiṇḍada asked, "Caravan-leader, what is your purpose in coming here?"

"Householder, I desire [61] to receive the lower and higher ordinations and become a monk in accordance with the Doctrine and Discipline which are so well expounded."

At that, the householder Anāthapiṇḍada sat up straight, stretched out his right arm, and pronounced this solemn, but joyous utterance: "Ah, the Buddha! Ah, the Dharma! Ah, the Saṅgha! Justly celebrated are they![62] For now such eminent men as this are leaving behind all their relatives, both close and distant, as well as their rich treasuries and warehouses, and are seeking to receive the lower and higher ordination, to become monks, in accordance with the Doctrine and Discipline, which are so well expounded." The householder Anāthapiṇḍada then took along with him the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, and together they set out to see the Lord.

At that time, the Lord was giving instruction in the Dharma to an assembly of several hundred monks who were seated before him. The Lord observed the householder Anāthapiṇḍada coming forward, bearing a gift. And seeing this, he again addressed the monks: "This man, O monks, the householder Anāthapiṇḍada, comes bearing a gift. For the Tathāgata, there is no gift comparable to the gift of one who wishes to undertake religious training."

Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍada knelt reverently at the feet of the Lord and, together with the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, sat down to one side. Having thus sat down to one side, the householder Anāthapiṇḍada said this to the Lord: "This man, O Venerable, the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, desires to receive the lower and higher ordinations and become a monk in accordance with the Doctrine and Discipline which are so well expounded. May the Lord, out of compassion, confer [upon him] the lower and higher ordinations. Please ordain him."

The Lord indicated his consent to [the request of] the householder Anāthapiṇḍada by remaining silent. Then the Lord summoned the caravan-leader Pūrṇa. "Come, monk. Practise the holy life."

As soon as the Lord had uttered these words, Pūrṇa was transformed: shaven-headed he became, clad in monastic robes, almsbowl and water-pot in his hands, with a [mere] week's growth of hair and beard and the perfect deportment of a monk of a hundred years' standing.[63]

Again told, "Come," by the Tathāgata, he, shaven-headed and body enfolded in

monastic robes,
Instantly attained tranquillity of the senses and thus remained by the will of the Buddha.[64]

Some time later, the Venerable Pūrṇa paid a visit to the Lord. [65] He approached the Lord, reverently knelt with his head at the Buddha's feet, and sat down to one side. Seated there to one side, Pūrṇa said this to the Lord: "Well would it be for me if the Lord were to concisely expound the Dharma such that, having heard from the Lord the Dharma thus concisely expounded, I might abide alone, secluded, attentive, ardent, and self-controlled. That for the sake of which sons of good family cut off hair and beard, don yellow garments and with right faith go forth from home into homelessness – in this very life and by my own efforts may I know, realize and attain that supreme end of the holy life and go forth to [that which is expressed by]: 'Exhausted for me is birth, accomplished the course of the holy life; what was to be done has been done; I will know no birth beyond this one'."

Thus addressed, the Lord [Buddha] said to the Venerable Pūrṇa, "Well spoken, Pūrṇa! Well spoken indeed is it for you to have said: 'Well would it be for me if the Lord were to concisely expound the Dharma such that, having heard from the Lord the Dharma thus concisely expounded, I might abide alone, secluded, attentive, ardent, and self-controlled. That for the sake of which sons of good family cut off hair and beard, don yellow garments and with right faith go forth from home into homelessness – in this very life and by my own efforts may I know, realize and attain that supreme end of the holy life and go forth to [that which is expressed by] 'Exhausted for me is birth, accomplished the course of the holy life; what was to be done has been done; I will know no birth beyond this one'."

"Therefore, Pūrṇa, listen and bear in mind well and carefully; I shall speak. There are, Pūrṇa, forms perceptible to the eye which are desirable, agreeable, pleasing, captivating, connected with sensual pleasure and which arouse desire. And if a monk, seeing such forms, approves them, welcomes them, clings to and continues clinging to them, then, as a result of approving, welcoming, clinging to and continuing to cling to them, enjoyment arises. With enjoyment comes the satisfaction of enjoyment. When there is the satisfaction of enjoyment, passion arises.[66] When there is passion for enjoyment, bondage to passion for enjoyment arises. Pūrṇa, a monk in bondage to passion for enjoyment is said to be far from Nirvāṇa.

"There are, Pūrṇa, sounds perceptible to the ear, smells perceptible to the nose, flavours perceptible to the tongue, tactile objects perceptible to the body, thoughts perceptible to the mind, [all of] which are desirable, agreeable, pleasing, captivating, connected with sensual pleasure and which arouse desire. And if a monk, becoming aware of these,[67] approves them, welcomes them, clings to and continues to cling to them, then, as a result of approving them, welcoming them, clinging to and continuing to cling to them, enjoyment arises. With enjoyment comes the satisfaction of enjoyment. When there is the satisfaction of enjoyment, passion arises. When there is passion for enjoyment, bondage to passion for enjoyment arises. Pūrṇa, a monk in bondage to

passion for enjoyment is said to be far from Nirvāṇa.

"There are, Pūrṇa, forms perceptible to the eye which are desirable, agreeable, pleasing, captivating,[68] connected with sensual pleasure and which arouse desire. But if a monk, seeing such forms, does not approve them, does not welcome them, does not cling to them, then, as a result of not approving, welcoming, or clinging to them, enjoyment does not arise. When there is no enjoyment, the satisfaction of enjoyment does not arise. When there is no satisfaction of enjoyment, passion does not arise. When there is no passion for enjoyment, bondage to passion for enjoyment does not arise. Pūrṇa, it is said by the virtuous[69] that a monk not in bondage to passion for enjoyment is near to Nirvāṇa.

"There are, Pūrṇa, sounds perceptible to the ear, smells perceptible to the nose, flavours perceptible to the tongue, tactile objects perceptible to the body, thoughts perceptible to the mind, all of which are desirable, agreeable, pleasing, captivating, delightful, connected with sensual pleasure and which arouse desire. But if a monk, becoming aware of these, does not approve them, does not welcome them, does not cling to them, then, as a result of not approving, welcoming, or clinging to them, enjoyment does not arise. When there is no enjoyment, the satisfaction of enjoyment does not arise. When there is no satisfaction of enjoyment, passion does not arise. Where there is no passion for enjoyment, bondage to passion for enjoyment does not arise. Pūrṇa, it is said by the virtuous that a monk not in bondage to passion for enjoyment is near to Nirvāṇa.

"This, Pūrṇa, is the concise exposition by which I exhort you. Now, where do you wish to live? Where do you wish to make your home?"

"Venerable, [thus] exhorted by the Lord by means of this concise exposition, I wish to live among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, to make my home among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka."[70]

"Pūrṇa, the people of Śroṇāparāntaka are fierce, violent, cruel, abusive, wrathful and contemptuous. Pūrṇa, if the people of Śroṇāparāntaka curse, abuse and revile you face-to-face with evil, indecent and harsh speech,[71] what will you think?"[72]

"Venerable, if the people of Śroṇāparāntaka curse, abuse and revile me face-to-face with evil, indecent and harsh speech, then I shall think,[73] 'Good are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, kind are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka: face-to-face they curse, abuse and revile me with evil, indecent and harsh speech, but they do not strike me with their fists or with clods of earth'."

"Pūrṇa, the people of Śroṇāparāntaka are fierce, violent, cruel, abusive, wrathful and contemptuous. If the people of Śroṇāparāntaka strike you with their fists or with clods of earth, what will you think?"

"Venerable, if the people of Śroṇāparāntaka strike me with their fists or with clods of earth, I shall think, 'Good are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, kind are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka: they strike me with their fists or with clods of earth, but they do not attack me with clubs or swords'."

"Pūrṇa, the people of Śroṇāparāntaka are fierce, violent, cruel, abusive, wrathful and contempuous. If the people of Śroṇāparāntaka attack you with swords or clubs, what will you think?"

"Venerable, if the people of Śroṇāparāntaka attack me with swords or clubs, I shall think, 'Good are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, kind are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka: they attack me with swords or clubs but do not deprive me utterly of life'."

"Pūrṇa, the people of Śroṇāparāntaka are fierce, violent, cruel, abusive, wrathful and contempuous. If the people of Śroṇāparāntaka deprive you utterly of life, what will you think?"

"'Venerable, if the people of Śroṇāparāntaka deprive me utterly of life, I shall think, 'The Lord has disciples who are so tormented, shamed and disgusted by this stinking body, that they even wield a knife against themselves,[74] even eat poison, even kill themselves by hanging, even by flinging themselves from a cliff. Good are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, kind are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka: with little pain they liberate me from this stinking carcass'!"[75]

"Well spoken, Pūrṇa, well spoken! With your forebearance and compassion,[76] you are well able to live among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, well able to make your home among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka. Go then, Pūrṇa! Attain liberation, then liberate others! Cross over, then convey others across![77] Attain calm, then calm others! Achieve final emancipation, then emancipate others!"

Then, rejoicing in and approving the words of the Lord, the Venerable Pūrṇa reverently knelt with his head at the Lord's feet and departed. After passing the night, early the next morning the Venerable Pūrṇa dressed, took his alms-bowl and outer robe and went into Śrāvastī for alms. He made his alms-round in Śrāvastī, ate the food he had collected and in the afternoon returned from his alms-round. Then, putting away the bed and seat he had used and [again] taking up his robe and bowl, he set out for the land of Śroṇāparāntaka and in due course reached that country. The following morning, the Venerable Pūrṇa got dressed, took up his robe and bowl, and entered Śroṇāparāntaka for alms.

Just then, a certain hunter came by, bow in hand, intent on the hunt. He caught sight of Pūrṇa and thought, "This is inauspicious, seeing this shaven-headed ascetic!"[78] Certain of this, he drew the bow[-string] to his ear and rushed after the Venerable Pūrṇa.[79] The Venerable Pūrṇa saw him. Seeing him, he lifted up his outer robe, and declared, "Good sir, I have come here for the sake of this one that is never satisfied. Strike here!" And he recited this verse:

For the sake of which birds and wild animals are caught in snares and nets,
And men bearing arrows, swords and spears forever perish in battle;
For the sake of which those wretched dwellers in darkness, the pitiful fish, swallow the hook –
It is for the sake of this belly that I have come from afar to this cesspool of wickedness![80]

The hunter reflected, "This renunciate possesses such forebearance and compassion!,"[81] and thinking [further], "Why should I attack him?," became well-disposed toward Pūrṇa. He then received instruction in the Dharma from the Venerable Pūrṇa and was thereby

established in going for refuge [to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha] and in the [five] moral precepts.[82] Pūrṇa also converted five hundred other male lay-disciples and five hundred female lay-disciples. In addition, Pūrṇa had his disciples build five hundred monastic dwellings furnished with many hundreds of beds, stools, cushions, pillows, woollen blankets and shawls.[83] And after the passage of three months, Pūrṇa (sa) realized the Three Knowledges[84] with his body and became an Arhat.[85] He was freed from desire for [anything in] the three worlds:[86] to him, a lump of gold and a clod of earth were the same; so, too, the palm of the hand and the open sky; so, too, [being cut with] a hatchet and [being rubbed with] sandalwood paste.[87] With knowledge he cracked open the shell of that egg, the mundane world: he realized the [Three] Knowledges, the [Six] Super-knowledges[88] and the [Four] Analytical Knowledges.[89] From conditioned existence, with its gain and greed, fame and honour, he had turned away. He became worthy of the salutation, honour and worship of the gods [themselves], not excepting Indra and Upendra.[90]

Time passed, and the wealth of Darukarṇin's [Bhavila's] two brothers dwindled, shrank and finally was exhausted. Those two [paid a visit to their elder brother, to whom they] said, "He is gone from our house, that one who appears as an omen of misfortune.[91] Come, we shall live together."

Bhavila said, "Who is it that appears as an omen of misfortune?"

The other two told him, "Your precious Pūrṇaka."[92]

"Fortune has indeed departed from my house. [Pūrṇa] is no omen of misfortune!"

The two replied, "Cal1 him good fortune; or omen of misfortune – it doesn't matter. Come, we shall live together."

Bhavila replied, "You two acquired your wealth by immoral means.[93] My own was acquired justly. I shall not set up housekeeping with you two."

The two brothers said, "That son of a slave-girl crossed and recrossed the great ocean and earned great profits which you boast of enjoying. What ability have you to set out on the great ocean?"

In this way, the two caused Bhavila to cling to his pride. He thought, "Well, then, I shall cross the great ocean!" As Pūrṇa did before, he gathered together a large company of like-minded merchants, performed the rites for a safe journey[94] and set out on the great ocean. The winds brought his ship to the Yellow Sandalwood Forest. The helmsman called out, "Sirs, that which is known as the Yellow Sandalwood Forest – this is it! Let the men take what is best from this place."

At that time, the Yellow Sandalwood Forest was under the protection of the ogre[95] Maheśvara, but he was [away] attending the Ogre Assembly. Then, five hundred axes began cutting down [the trees] in the Yellow Sandalwood Forest. An ogre named Apriya, 'Inimical,' seeing these five hundred axes cutting down [the trees] in the Yellow Sandalwood Forest, betook himself to the ogre Maheśvara. Approaching the ogre Maheśvara, he said this to him: "The General should know that five hundred axes are cutting down the trees in the Yellow Sandalwood Forest. Do what you need to do, Sir; do what must be done."

Enraged, the ogre Maheśvara dissolved the Ogre Assembly, produced an enormous and fearsome hurricane[96] and set out for the Yellow Sandalwood Forest.

The helmsman [of Bhavila's ship] cried out, "Listen, sirs, merchants of India! That which is known as the Great and Fearsome Hurricane – this is it! What do you think should be done?"[97]

Those merchants, terrified and shuddering with fear, the hair of their bodies standing on end, began to supplicate the gods:

O Śiva, Varuṇa, Kubera, Vāsava and the other deities![98]
Lords over gods, humans, serpents, ogres and demons!
A frightful calamity has befallen us! May these fearless ones this day be our protectors!
Some of the men supplicated the Lord of Śacī;[99] others,
Brahmā, Hari or Śaṃkara,[100]
Or the gods of earth, tree and forest: assailed by that demon-wind,[101] those merchants begged for protection.

Darukarṇin [Bhavila] remained indifferent. The merchants said, "Caravan-leader, we are trapped, beset and in great danger! How can you remain indifferent?"

Bhavila replied, "Sirs, I was told by my brother, 'On the great ocean there is little enjoyment and much distress. Blinded by greed, many cross; few return. You must by no means cross the great ocean.' I myself, ignoring his words, crossed the great ocean. What am I to do now?"

"Who is your brother?"

"Pūrṇa."

The merchants said, "Sirs, that very one, the holy Pūrṇa, he is a great man by reason of his merit! Let us go for refuge to that very man!" Then all those merchants cried out with one voice, "Reverence to him, the holy Pūrṇa! Reverence, reverence to him, the holy Pūrṇa!"

At that, a venerable goddess who had faith in Pūrṇa approached the Venerable Pūrṇa and, having approached him, said this: "Holy One, your brother is trapped, beset and in great danger – focus your mind [on him]!"

Pūrṇa focussed his mind [on Bhavila]. Then the Venerable Pūrṇa entered into a meditation such that, as soon as his mind was fully concentrated, he vanished from Śroṇāparāntaka and appeared in the great ocean, seated cross-legged in meditation, on the gunwhale of his brother's ship. Then that hurricane turned back as if repelled by Mount Sumeru.

At that, the ogre Maheśvara reflected, "In the past, any ship touched by that hurricane capsized and broke apart like so many cotton-tufts! Now through what yoga has the hurricane turned back as if repelled by Mount Sumeru?" He began to look here and there until he saw the Venerable Pūrṇa seated in a cross-legged meditation posture; on the gunwhale of the ship. Seeing Pūrṇa, the ogre said, "Holy Pūrṇa, why do you harass [me in this way]?"

The Venerable Pūrṇa replied, "Why do I, an old man, harass you? It is you who harass me![102] Had I not mastered such powers as I have, you would have reduced my brother to nothing more than a name."

Replied the ogre Maheśvara, "Holy One, this Yellow Sandalwood Forest is maintained for the use of a universal monarch."

"What do you think, General? Which is superior – a king who is a universal monarch or a Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Fully Awakened One?"

"Holy One, has such a Lord appeared in the world?"

"Such a one has appeared."

"If that is so, then let that which has not been finished be finished."

Thereupon, those merchants, having recovered their lives, became filled with faith in the Venerable Pūrṇa and, loading their ship with yellow sandalwood, they departed. In due course they reached Sūrpāraka City.

At that point, the Venerable Pūrṇa said to his brother [Bhavila], "This cargo belongs to him through whose name your ship has returned safe and sound. Divide these jewels among the merchants.[103] With the yellow sandalwood I shall build for the use of the Lord a grand edifice – 'The Sandalwood Pavilion'."

And so Bhavila distributed the jewels among the merchants. The Venerable Pūrṇa, using the yellow sandalwood, began the construction of the pavilion. He summoned artisans and said to them, "Sirs, will you accept as payment [for your work] five hundred silver coins per day or would you prefer one measure – about the size of a cat's footprint – of powdered yellow sandalwood?"

They replied, "Holy One, one measure of yellow sandalwood powder."

[After that], the Sandalwood Pavilion was completed in a short time. The king declared, "The pavilion is exquisite![104] It is completed, finished and entirely perfect!"

The sandalwood shavings and sawdust that were left over were ground up and the sandal-paste was donated to the monastery [to be used] as salve. And Pūrṇa made all the brothers forgive each other and instructed them, "Invite the community of monks, led by the Buddha, and serve them a meal."

"Holy One, where is the Lord?"

"In Śrāvastī."

"How far is Śrāvastī from here?"

"More than a hundred leagues."[105]

"First we should see the king."

"Yes, do that."

So [Pūrṇa's] brothers went before the king. They approached, performed obeisance with their heads at his feet and said, "Sire, we wish to invite the community of monks, led by the Buddha, in order to serve them a meal. May Your Majesty make arrangements to assist us."

Said the king, "Fine! So be it. I shall make the arrangements."

Then the Venerable Pūrṇa climbed onto the roof of [the pavilion], that place of refuge, and stood facing the Jeta Grove [in Śrāvastī]. He knelt down, strewed flowers, waved incense; then, handed a golden vase by a lay-disciple,[106] he proceeded to worship in

order to obtain a boon:

O you of purified conduct![107] O you of perfectly purified intelligence! You who always perceive the intentions of those who offer meals!
Behold those beings who are without a protector (nātha), O Great One!
Exercise compassion and come to this place!

Then, through the spiritual power of the Buddhas and the divine power of the gods, the flowers fashioned themselves into an airborne pavilion and were transported to the Jeta Grove. There they settled down at the end of the line of senior monks, while the incense appeared there like a canopy of clouds and the water [from the vase] like a staff of lapis lazuli.

[Now] the Venerable Ānanda[108] was skilled in the interpretation of signs and portents. Raising his joined hands in respectful salutation, he asked the Lord, "Lord, from where does this invitation come?"

"From the city of Sūrpāraka, Ānanda."

"Venerable, how far away is the city of Sūrpāraka?"

"More than a hundred leagues, Ānanda."

"Are we going there?"

"Ānanda, make this announcement to the monks: 'Whomever among you is able to travel to Sūrpāraka tomorrow to accept an invitation for a meal should now take a food-ticket'."

"So be it, Venerable," said Ānanda in agreement. He took a food-ticket and took his place before the Lord. Then the Buddha and the most senior monks took food-tickets.

Now at that time [another] Venerable Pūrṇa, the Elder Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka,[109] who had been liberated through insight,[110] was seated in that very assembly. Being among those assembled, he also went to take a food-ticket. But the Venerable Ānanda addressed him with these verses:

Venerable, this is not a meal at the palace of the King of Kośala,[111]
Nor in Mṛgāra's[112] mansion nor at the house of Sudatta.[113]
The city of Sūrpāraka is more than a hundred leagues from here, Only those with psychic powers can attend – so be silent, Pūrṇaka.

Pūrṇa, who had been liberated through insight and who had not developed psychic powers, said to himself, "Although I have vomited forth, expelled, abandoned and driven away all of the myriad passions, I am most discouraged about [my lack of] those psychic powers which are possessed [even] by the disciples of other teachers." Then, generating spiritual energy and producing psychic power, before the Venerable Ānanda could give a food-ticket to the third elder,[114] Pūrṇa stretched out his arm as long as an elephant's trunk and took the food-ticket. Thereupon he recited these verses:

It is not through beauty or learning, O Gautama,[115] nor through physical force,

Nor yet through powerful words or wishes does one in this life master the Six Superknowledges.
[Rather], through the manifold powers of tranquillity, moral discipline, insight and meditation are
The Six Superknowledges investigated by those such as I, though our youth be trampled by old age.[116]

The Lord then announced to the monks, "O my monks, this one is foremost among my disciples who are monks in the matter of taking ecclesiastical food-tickets.[117] Among those who take food-tickets, this Pūrṇa, the Elder Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka, is foremost."[118]

The Lord then addressed the Venerable Ānanda. "Go, Ānanda, announce this to the monks: 'I have declared, monks, that you should live with your virtues concealed and your vices displayed. However, that city, [Sūrpāraka], is overrun with unbelievers. Therefore, whomever among you has acquired psychic powers shall travel to Sūrpāraka by means of those powers and there accept the invitation for a meal.'"[119]

"Very well, Venerable," said Ānanda, assenting to the Lord. He then announced to the monks: "Venerables, the Lord says, 'I have declared, monks, that you should live with your virtues concealed and your vices displayed. However, that city, Sūrpāraka, is overrun with unbelievers. Therefore, whomever among you has acquired psychic powers shall travel to Sūrpāraka by means of those powers and there accept the invitation for a meal.'"[120]

Meanwhile, the King of Sūrpāraka had [the streets of] Sūrpāraka City swept clean of stones, pebbles and gravel, sprinkled with sandalwood-water, lined with many kinds of urns [wafting] fragrant incense, decorated with rows of silk banners, and strewn with many varieties of lovely flowers. It was beautiful!

Sūrpāraka had eighteen gates. And the king had seventeen sons. One prince was stationed in royal splendour at each gate. And in all his royal splendour, the king, sovereign ruler of Sūrpāraka, stationed himself at the main gate, accompanied by the Venerable Pūrṇa, Darukarṇin [Bhavila], Stavakarṇin [Bhavanandin] and Trapukarṇin [Bhavatrāta].

Just then, monks, seated in [vehicles fashioned from] leaves, from tree-branches and from water-pots began to arrive, flying in by means of their psychic powers. Seeing them, the king asked, "Venerable Pūrṇa, has the Lord arrived?"

Replied the Venerable Pūrṇa, "Great king, these are monks, seated in [vehicles fashioned from] leaves, tree-branches and water-pots. The Lord is not yet here."

Then, through exercise of the various stages of meditation and yogic absorption, the most senior monks arrived. And again the king asked, "Venerable Pūrṇa, has the Lord arrived?"

Replied the Venerable Pūrṇa, "Great king, the Lord has not yet arrived. These monks are his senior disciples."

Then one of the many lay-disciples recited these verses:

Some ride on splendid lions, tigers, elephants, horses, divine serpents or bulls;

Some choose jewelled aerial cars, mountains, various species of trees or glittering chariots;
Others, like thunder-clouds, fly through the sky adorned with tendrils of lightning;
By means of their psychic powers they ascend, rejoicing, as if en route to the City of the Gods.
In magically-created bodies, they part and rise up out of the earth, or descend from the sky on to it,
In order to take their seats. Behold the might of these who command the powers of the mind!

Meanwhile, [in the Jeta Grove outside Śrāvastī], the Lord washed his feet, entered his personal cell, sat down on the specially appointed seat, assumed an upright posture; and established himself in full mindfulness.[121] As soon as the Lord, with fixed determination of mind, set foot in his perfumed chamber (gandhakuṭī), the earth shook in six different ways: the great earth stirred, quivered and quaked; it shook, trembled and shuddered. The eastern quarter rose up, the western sank down. The western quarter rose up, the eastern sank down. The southern quarter rose up, the northern sank down. The northern quarter rose up, the southern sank down. The nadir rose up, the zenith sank down. The zenith rose up, the nadir sank down.[122]

The king asked the Venerable Pūrṇa, "Holy Pūrṇa, what is happening?"

He replied, "Great King, the Lord, with fixed determination of mind, has stepped into his perfumed chamber; this has caused the earth to shake in six different ways."

Then, from his body the Lord radiated an effulgent stream of golden light by which all of India was illuminated, as if by molten gold.

And the king, his eyes wide with astonishment, again asked, "Holy Pūrṇa, what is happening?"

He replied, "Great King, the Lord is radiating an effulgent stream of golden light."

Then the Lord, senses restrained and surrounded by those whose senses were restrained, tranquil and surrounded by those who were tranquil, accompanied by five hundred Arhats,[123] set out in the direction of Sūrpāraka.[124] At the same time, the goddess who dwelt in the Jeta Grove, taking a branch of a bakula tree, followed behind the Lord, in the form of his shadow.[125] Knowing her mental disposition, character and circumstances, the Lord imparted to her such instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths that, listening to it, the goddess, shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous belief in a permanently existent self,[126] attained the fruit of Entrance into the Stream.[127]

Meanwhile, in a certain district there lived five hundred matrons.[128] And they saw the Lord Buddha, his lustrous body adorned with the thirty-two primary and eighty secondary physical features of a Great Man,[129] surrounded by a fathom-wide halo more dazzling than a thousand suns, moving like a jewelled mountain, wholly auspicious.[130] At the mere sight of him, on their part arose great faith in the Lord. This is to be expected: meditative cultivation of calm awareness, practised for twelve years, could not produce such joy in the mind, nor could the birth of a son for a man without sons, nor the sight of a treasure-

trove for a poor man, nor royal consecration for one who desires kingship, as does the first sight of a Buddha for a living being who has planted the roots of spiritual merit over many lifetimes.

Then the Lord, perceiving that the time was right for the women's spiritual training, sat down in front of the community of monks on the seat which had been especially provided. As for those women, they honoured the Lord by touching their heads to his feet, then sat down to one side. Knowing their mental dispositions resulting from previous deeds,[131] their characters and circumstances, the Lord imparted to them such instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths that, listening to it, those women, shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous belief in a permanently existent self, attained the fruit of Entrance into the Stream. Having seen the truth, they thrice proclaimed this joyous utterance (udāna):

"Such a kind favour as you have done for us, Venerable, was never done by our mothers or fathers, nor by the king or by any of our relatives or immediate family, nor by the gods or by our ancestors, nor by any priest or ascetic. The oceans of blood and tears are dried up! The mountains of bones have been surmounted! The gates to misery are shut fast! We have surpassed the most excellent among gods and humans![132] We ourselves go for refuge to the Lord, the Dharma and the Community of Monks. May the Lord accept us as lay-disciples!"[133]

They then rose from their seats, made reverence to the Lord with joined palms, and said to the Lord, "Please! May the Lord give us something here to which we may offer worship."

And so the Lord, using his psychic powers, presented them with some of his hair and fingernails. Then the women constructed a reliquary mound (stūpa) containing the Lord's hair and fingernails.

The goddess who dwelt in the Jeta Grove planted that bakula branch in the path around that stūpa,[134] then addressed the Lord: "Lord, I shall remain here worshipping at this stūpa," and there she stationed herself. Some people call the shrine 'Matrons' Stūpa'; others, 'Bakula-Tree Walk,' and to this day it is venerated by those monks who are given to the veneration of shrines.[135]

Then the Lord departed.

At that time, in a certain hermitage, dwelt five hundred sages (ṛṣi). Their hermitage was well provided with streams, fruit and flowers. Those sages were drunk with their own self-importance and had no respect for anyone. And so the Lord, perceiving that the time was ripe for their spiritual training, approached their hermitage. And having approached, he employed his psychic powers to cause the flowers and fruit to disappear from the hermitage, the stream to dry up, the lush meadows to be ploughed up and the fields to die.[136]

Then those sages, holding their heads in their hands, lost themselves in anxious thought. They were then addressed by the Lord. "Great sages,[137] why are you lost in anxious thought?"

They told him, "Lord, you, a field of merit in human form, entered this place and [now]

we find ourselves such a [wretched] state as this."

Said the Lord, "Sages, your hermitage, so well provided with streams, fruit and flowers – has it been destroyed? Do you wish it to be as it was before?"

"Let it be so, Lord," they answered. "Lord, make this hermitage, which was well provided with streams, fruit and flowers, as it was before."

The Buddha then abated [the activity of his] psychic powers and the hermitage became as before.[138]

At this, those sages were greatly astonished and their hearts were inspired with faith in the Lord. Then, knowing their mental dispositions resulting from the effects of previous deeds, their characters and circumstances, the Lord imparted[139] to them such instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths that, listening to it, those five hundred sages all attained the fruit of a Never-Returner[140] as well as developing psychic powers. Then, having venerated the Lord with joined hands, they said this to the Lord: "Let us receive the lower and higher ordinations and become monks in the Doctrine and Discipline which is so well expounded. Let us practise the holy life in the presence of the Lord."

In response, they were addressed thus by the Lord: "Come, monks! Practise the holy life." As soon as the Lord had uttered these words, the sages were transformed: shaven-headed they became, clad in monastic robes, almsbowls and water-pots in their hands,[141] with a [mere] week's growth of hair and beard and the disciplined comportment of monks of a hundred years' standing.

> Again told "Come!" by the Tathāgata, they, shaven-headed and bodies enfolded in monastic robes,
> Instantly attained tranquillity of the senses and thus remained, by the will of the Buddha.[142]

[143]Through intensive practice, sustained effort and zealous striving, those sages came to understand [the nature of] this transitory, five-spoked wheel of birth-and-death.[144] They cut off rebirth in all realms of conditioned existence due to their being characterized by ruin, decline, death and destruction, and, by abandoning all defilements, attained Arhatship. Arhats they became, free from passion for [anything in] the three worlds: to them, a lump of gold and a clod of earth were the same; so, too, the palm of the hand and the open sky; so, too, [being cut with] a hatchet and [being rubbed with] sandalwood paste. With knowledge they cracked open the shell of that egg, the mundane world: they realized the [Three] Knowledges, the [Six] Superknowledges and the [Four] Analytical Knowledges. From conditioned existence, with its gain and greed, fame and honour, they had turned away. They became worthy of the respectful salutation, honour and worship of the gods [themselves], not excepting Indra and Upendra.

Then the sage who had been their teacher spoke up. "Lord, with this false appearance, I have deceived a great many people. When I have led them to faith [in the Lord], I shall seek ordination."

Then, with those five hundred sages and the five hundred original monks deployed

around him in the shape of a crescentmoon, the Lord, using his psychic powers, set out through the sky, and in due course reached Mount Musalaka.

Now at that time there lived on Mount Musalaka a sage by the name of Vakkalin. From afar that sage saw the Lord approaching, his lustrous body adorned with the thirty-two primary[145] and eighty secondary physical features of a Great Man, surrounded by a fathom-wide halo more dazzling than a thousand suns, moving like a jewelled mountain, wholly auspicious. At that sight, the mind of the sage became filled with faith in the Lord. With faith arisen, he thought, "Suppose now, in order to see the Lord, I descend the mountain and approach him. [In that case], the Lord, looking around for those ripe for spiritual training, will pass on [without noticing me]. Suppose, rather, I fling myself off the mountain."

And so Vakkalin flung himself off the mountain. But the Lord Buddhas are always mentally alert and, using his psychic powers, the Lord caught Vakkalin. Then, knowing his mental predispositions resulting from previous deeds, his character and circumstances, the Lord imparted to him such instruction in the Dharma that, listening to it, Vakkalin attained the fruit of a Never-Returner and also gained psychic powers.

Then Vakkalin said to the Lord, "Let me receive the lower and higher ordinations and become a monk in the Doctrine and Discipline which are so well expounded.[146] Let me practise the holy life in the presence of the Lord."

In response, Vakkalin was addressed thus by the Lord: "Come, monk! Practise the holy life in this very place." As soon as the Lord had uttered these words, Vakkalin was transformed: shaven-headed he became, clad in monastic robes, almsbowl and waterpot in his hands, with a [mere] week's growth of hair and beard and the disciplined comportment of a monk of a hundred years' standing.

> Again told "Come!" by the Tathāgata, he, shaven-headed and body enfolded in monastic robes,
> Instantly attained tranquillity of the senses and thus remained, by the will of the Buddha.

Then the Lord announced to the monks, "O my monks, this one – namely the monk Vakkalin – is foremost among my monks who are devoted in their faith in me."

Then the Lord, accompanied by those thousand monks, performing as he went all manner of miraculous feats, reached the city of Sūrpāraka. The Lord thought, "If I enter by one particular gate, those at the other gates will be distressed. Suppose, now, I were to enter the city simply by the exercise of psychic powers." And so, exercising his psychic powers, he [ascended] into the sky, then descended [from it] right into the middle of Sūrpāraka City.

Thereupon the king, sovereign ruler of Sūrpāraka, the Venerable Pūrṇa, Darukarṇin, Stavakarṇin, Trapukarṇin and the seventeen princes,[147] together with all their attendants, approached the Lord, as did many hundreds of thousands of living beings. The Lord, followed by those many hundreds of thousands of living beings, approached the Sandalwood Pavilion. Having thus approached, the Lord [entered the Pavilion] and sat

down before the Community of Monks on the seat that had been especially provided.

The crowd of people, unable to see the Lord, began to force its way into the Sandalwood Pavilion.[148] The Lord reflected, "If the Sandalwood Pavilion is wrecked, the merit of the donors will be obstructed. Suppose, now, I were to transform the Pavilion into crystal."

And the Lord transformed the Pavilion into crystal.[149] Then, knowing the mental dispositions resulting from the effects of previous deeds, the natures and circumstances of the members of that assembly, the Lord gave an exposition of the Dharma such that, listening to it, those hundreds of thousands of living beings attained great concentration of mind.[150] Some were inspired to plant roots of merit conducive to Liberation; some, roots of merit conducive to attainment of the [Four] States of Penetration;[151] some attained the fruit of Entrance into the Stream; some, the fruit of a Once-Returner;[152] some, the fruit of a Never-Returner. Some, as a result of the abandonment of all defilements, attained Arhatship. Some were inspired to produce the resolve for the Awakening of a Disciple; some, for the Awakening of a Solitary Buddha;[153] and some were inspired to produce the resolve for Supreme;, Perfect Awakening.[154] Overall, that assembly became devoted to the Buddha, intent on the Dharma, and committed to the Monastic Community.

After that, Darukarṇin, Stavakarṇin and Trapukarṇin, having prepared the finest pure foods, both hard and soft,[155] and having arranged the required seating, informed the Lord by messenger that it was time [for the meal]: "It is time, Venerable. The food is ready if the Lord thinks now is the right time."

At that time, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka, two serpent-kings,[156] were living in the great ocean [off the coast of Sūpāraka]. Those two thought, "The Lord is expounding the Dharma in Sūrpāraka City. Let us go there! Let us hear the Dharma!"

Then those two produced five hundred rivers and, attended by five hundred serpents, set out for Sūrpāraka City. However, the Lord Buddhas are always mentally alert, and the Lord thought, "Those two serpent-kings, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka – if they come to Sūrpāraka, they will wreak havoc."

So the Lord summoned the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana: "Maudgalyāyana,[157] [go and] accept [from Pūrṇa's brothers], on the Tathāgata's behalf, some 'irregular' almsfood.[158] Why should you do so? For me, Maudgalyāyana, there are five types of such irregular almsfood. What are these five? The almsfood of a monk who has just arrived [at a monastery], that of one who is setting out on a journey, of one who is ill, of one who is caring for the sick and that of a monk who is charged with the guardianship of monastic property. In this case, the Lord is acting in regard to the material property[159] [of the Order]."

After that, the Lord, accompanied by Maudgalyāyana, approached those two serpent-kings, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka, and having approached, he told them, "Take care, serpents-lords, that in Sūrpāraka City no impropriety takes place."[160]

The two replied, "Venerable, we have come bearing such great good will that we could never cause injury to any living being, even to a tiny ant, much less to the host of people

who live in Sūrpāraka."

Then the Lord expounded the Dharma to those two serpentkings, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka such that, listening to it, they went for refuge to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Monastic Community and also accepted the [Five] Rules of Training.[161] Then the Lord began his meal. Each of those five hundred serpents thought, "Ah! May the Lord drink the water from my river!"

The Lord thought, "If I drink the beverage of [only] one of these serpents, the others will be distressed [and may cause trouble].[162] Some strategy for dealing with this must be devised." So the Lord instructed the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana: "Go, Maudgalyāyana, to the confluence of those five hundred rivers and bring back from there a bowlful of water."

"Very well," replied Maudgalyāyana, consenting to the Lord, and at the confluence of the those five hundred rivers he filled a bowl full of water and returned to the Lord. Approaching the Lord, he presented to him the bowlful of water. The Lord accepted the water and drank it.

Then the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana reflected. "On a previous occasion the Lord said, 'Monks, the mother and father of a son are indeed performers of difficult tasks. They nourish and nurture the child; they raise him, provide milk and are his guides to the diverse beauties of this Rose-Apple Isle.[163] Were a son to serve[164] with half his energy his mother and with the other half his father for a full hundred years; were he to present them with [all] the jewels, pearls, lapis lazuli, mother-of-pearl, coral, silver, gold, emeralds, tiger's-eyes, rubies and conch shells with spirals turning to the right [which are found] on this great earth; were he to establish them in supreme sovereignty and royal power – even having done so much, that son would not have repaid the great service done him by his mother and father.

"'But a son who introduces to the riches of faith a mother and father without faith, who inspires them with it, trains them in it and establishes them in it; who introduces to the riches of moral discipline a mother and father who lack moral discipline; who introduces to the riches of giving a mother and father who are jealous and covetous; who introduces to the riches of spiritual insight a mother and father who lack insight; who inspires them with these qualities, trains them in these qualities and establishes them therein – the son who does these things for his mother and father does indeed repay the great service done him by his mother and father.'[165]

"And yet I never performed such service for my mother! Suppose now I concentrate my mind[166] [on] where my mother has been reborn." And in thus concentrating his mind, Maudgalyāyana saw that she had been reborn in the world called Maricika, 'Radiant'. He reflected, "Who is to undertake her spiritual training?" Then he saw that it would be undertaken by the Lord. He said to himself, "We in this world are far from there. Suppose now I were to inform the Lord of this matter." And so he said this to the Lord: "Venerable, on a previous occasion the Lord said, 'Monks, the mother and father of a son are indeed performers of difficult feats!'[167] My mother has been reborn in the Maricika world and she is to be given spiritual training by the Lord. Therefore, the Lord should so train her. Please exercise your compassion!"

The Lord said, "Maudgalyāyana, by means of whose psychic power shall we travel [to that world]?[168]

"By means of mine, Lord." And so the Lord and the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana set their feet on the peak of Mount Sumeru,[169] set out, and in seven days reached the Maricika world.

The [maiden called] Bhadrakanyā[170] saw the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana coming from afar and, seeing him once again, she excitedly ran up to him, saying, "Ah! After so long I see my son again!"

At that, a large group of people declared, "Sirs,[171] this person is an agèd religious mendicant while this one is just a young girl! How can she be his mother?"

Replied the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, "Sirs, my bodily elements originated with her.[172] Therefore this young woman is my mother."

Then the Lord, knowing Bhadrakanyā's mental dispositions resulting from the traces of previous deeds, her character and nature;, gave an exposition of the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths such that, listening to it, Bhadrakanyā, shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous view of a permanently existent self, attained the fruit of Entering the Stream. Realizing the truth, she thrice proclaimed this joyous utterance:[173] "Such a kind favour as you have done for me, Venerable, was never done by my mother or father, nor by the king nor by any of my relatives or immediate family, nor by the gods or by my ancestors, nor by any priest or ascetic. The oceans of blood and tears are dried up! The mountains of bones have been surmounted! The gates of misery are shut fast! I have surpassed the most excellent among gods and humans!" And then she declaimed [these verses]:

Through your spiritual power, closed is the path to evil rebirths, so frightful, so filled with sin and wickedness;
Opened for me is the way to heaven; gained for me the path to Nirvāṇa, so filled with merit.
Through taking refuge in you, I have this day attained freedom from sin,[174] acquired the faultless, wholly purified vision,
And have attained that longed-for goal sought by the Holy Ones – I have crossed to the further shore of the ocean of suffering.

O you who in this world are honoured by gods, men and demons, who are freed from birth, old age, disease and death,
The sight of whom is so exceedingly difficult to gain even in a thousand births – O Sage, seeing you this day has borne great fruit![175]

"I have gone beyond [the cycle of birth-and-death], Venerable, I have gone beyond! I, this very person, go for refuge to the Lord, to the Dharma and to the Monastic Community. Please accept me as a lay-disciple from this day forth for as long as I shall live – I, a living being who has gone for refuge and who has strong faith. May the Lord, accompanied by the Holy Mahāmaudgalyāyana, now consent to receive alms from me."

The Lord indicated his consent to Bhadrakanyā's request by remaining silent.

Then, after ensuring that the Lord and the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana were comfortably seated, with her own hands Bhadrakanyā served and satisfied them with the finest pure foods, both hard and soft. When she saw that the Lord had finished eating, had washed his hands and had set aside his bowl, she took a stool and sat down before the Lord in order to hear the Dharma. The Lord then expounded the Dharma to her. The Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana retrieved the Lord's bowl [which had since been washed] and returned it to him. Then the Lord said,

"Maudgalyāyana, let us go."

"Yes, Lord, let us go."

"By means of whose psychic power?"

"By means of the Lord's, the Tathāgata's."

"If so, then focus your mind on the Jeta Grove."

"… We have arrived, Lord!"

"Maudgalyāyana, we have arrived."

Then, his mind quite overcome by astonishment, Maudgalyāyana said, "Lord, what is the name of this psychic power?"[176]

"'Mind-Speed',[177] Maudgalyāyana."

"Venerable, I did not realize that the powers (dharmas) of the Buddha were so profound.[178] Had I known this, my mind would never have been turned back from Supreme;, Perfect Awakening[179] even were my body to have been ground into [particles as tiny as] sesame seeds! Now that I am [exhausted like] spent fuel, what can I do?"[180]

Then, their doubts aroused, the monks questioned the Buddha, who resolves all doubts: "Venerable, what deed did the Venerable Pūrṇa perform as a result of which he was born into a wealthy family possessed of great riches and extensive properties? And what deed did he perform as a result of which he was born in the womb of a slave-girl and then, going forth into the homeless life, attained Arhatship as a result of the abandonment of all defilements?"

The Lord replied, "Monks, the monk Pūrṇa performed and accumulated many deeds, the bases of which are about to ripen, which exist in a multitude and the effects of which are inevitable. Pūrṇa [himself] performed and accumulated these deeds. Who else could experience their effects? Monks, those deeds performed and accumulated by Pūrṇa did not manifest their effects without, in the earth-element or in the water-element, nor in the fire-element or in the air-element.[181] Rather deeds that are performed and accumulated manifest their effects in the [five] constituents of the personality, in states of mind, in the whole complex of embodied experience,[182] where they were performed, and these results may be wholesome or unwholesome.

Deeds are never destroyed, even after myriads of aeons:[183]
In the fullness of time, and in the right circumstances, they inevitably bear fruit among living beings.[184]

"Long ago, monks, [yet] in this present Auspicous Aeon[185] when people had a life-span of

twenty thousand years, there arose in the world a Fully Awakened Buddha named Kāśyapa, endowed with wisdom and conduct, a Tathāgata, unexcelled in his knowledge of the world, guide for those needing restraint, a teacher of gods and men. [At one time] that Lord Buddha was staying near Vārāṇasī. Pūrṇa went forth [into homelessness] under his tutelage. He mastered the Threefold Collection of Scripture (tripiṭaka) and carried out the business of the Order in accordance with Dharma.[186]

"[On one occasion] another disciple, charged with the office of groundskeeper, was sweeping the monastery. The sweepings were blown hither and thither by the wind. He thought, 'Let me wait until the wind dies down.'

"Meanwhile, Pūrṇa noticed that the monastery remained unswept by the groundskeeper. Quite overcome with rage, he committed the deed of harsh speech, [shouting], 'Whose slave-girl's son is this groundskeeper?"

"[The groundskeeper, an] Arhat, heard him and thought, 'That monk is overcome with rage. Let me wait awhile. Later I shall inform him …'

"When Pūrṇa's fit of rage had passed, that monk approached him and said, 'Do you know who I am?'

"Replied Pūrṇa, 'I know that you, like myself, have gone forth into the homeless life under the tutelage of the Fully Awakened Buddha, Kāśyapa.'

"Said the Arhat, 'That may be so, but since going forth I have done what was to be done and am liberated from all bonds. You, however, [still] bound by those bonds, committed the deed of harsh speech.[187] Therefore confess the offence. In that way, the offense will be a small one and will be removed and completely exhausted.'

"Pūrṇa confessed the offense. Now Pūrṇa would have been reborn in hell and thereafter as the son of a slave-girl, but, because he had confessed, he was not reborn in hell. However, for five hundred births he was reborn from the womb of a slave-girl. Even in this, his final birth, he was born again from the womb of a slave-girl. However, because of Pūrṇa's service to the Monastic Community, he was born into a wealthy family, one possessed of great riches and extensive properties. And because he read and studied and worked for the welfare of many, he went forth into homelessness under my tutelage and as a result of freeing himself from all defilements, attained Arhatship.

"Therefore, monks, it is said, 'The fruit of wholly black deeds is itself wholly black; the fruit of wholly white deeds is itself wholly white; and the fruit of mixed deeds is itself mixed.' Therefore, then, monks, abandon wholly black deeds as well as mixed deeds and direct your own earnest efforts toward wholly white deeds. In this way, monks, should you train yourselves."

Thus spoke the Lord. Their hearts gladdened, the monks rejoiced at the Lord's words.[188]

Thus concludes 'The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa,' the second story in the Divyāvadāna.

Notes

1 Citations by page and line number only refer to Vaidya's edition. 'CN' refers to Cowell & Neil's edition. 'B' refers to Bailey's (1950) text-critical notes.

2 For Śūrpāraka and Śroṇāparāntaka, see Introduction.
3 Stock description: the wealthy layman (15.2–3): see Avś 297 (2), tr. Feer 4 (9).
4 Stock description: marriage of a man and birth of his child (15.3–9): see Avś 299 (9), tr. 3 (6).
5 Read anekair upāyaśatasahasrair (B 174) for °upāyaśatair (15.12, CN 25.4).
6 Read tatas tayā kiṃcit svabhaktāt samudānīya kiṃcit tasmād eva gṛhād apahṛtyopasthānaṃ kṛtam (B 174) for … svabhaktāt tasmād eva gṛhād apahṛtya … (15.18–19, CN 25.14).
7 Read vada kiṃ te varam anuprayacchāmīti (B 174) for aharṃ te varam … (15.22, CN 24.19).
8 Read svāmin (B 174) for āryaputra (15.24, CN 25.23).
9 15.24–25. Cf. Kautilīya Arthaśāstra III.13.23: 'A child begotten by a master on his own female slave shall be considered free along with the mother' (svāminaḥ svasyāṃ dāsyāṃ jātaṃ samātṛkam adāsaṃ vidyāt). Cf. Basham 1967: 153. To what extent such textual injunctions influenced (or reflected) common practice is another matter, but it does suggest a logic to the slave-girl's request. More importantly, it provides a narrative logic for Pūrṇa's birth.
10 Read dārike yadā kalyā saṃvṛttā ṛtumatī (B 174) for yadā saṃvṛttā ṛtumatī (15.26, CN 25.25).
11 The past participle -pūrṇa (15.29) anticipates Pūrṇa, he by whom Bhava, and later the Buddha's Dharma, is 'fulfilled'.
12 chatrākāraśīrṣaḥ (15.30–31), 'a parasol-shaped head'.
13 sarvārthāḥ sarvakarmāntāḥ paripūrṇāḥ (16.1–2). See n. 11 above.
14 The expression vistareṇa yāvāt (16.3–4) indicates the passage, a stock description in both Divy and Avś, has been abbreviated (cf. Burnouf 1876: 214 n.). I supply the full text from Divy 2.12–15. Cf. Avś (Vaidya) 299 (9), tr. 3 (7) and see ED, s.v. kṣīra-dhātrī.
15 Lacking in the text; supplied from Tibetan (B 174) and Divy 63.6, 287.11–12.
16 Lacking in the text; supplied from Tibetan (B 174) and Divy 35.25, 287.11.
17 16.4–7. Stock description: a clever lad's mercantile education. Cf. Divy 2.1618, 35.24–26, 63.5–9, 287.10–12 and see Sastri 1945: 9–10.
18 Read nirastavyāpārāḥ (B 174) for nivṛttāh (16.8, CN 26.17) and cf. use of nirastavjāpārāḥ at 16.11 (CN 26.22).
19 Read suvarṇalakṣā saṃvṛttā (B 174) for °lakṣāḥ saṃvṛttāḥ (16.19, CN 27.6).
20 Read pūrṇenāpi tatraiva dhbarmeṇa vyavabāratā sātirekā suvarṇalakṣā samudānītā (B 174–175, CN 27.6). CN 27.6 reads … dhbarmeṇa nyāyena vyavahāritā.… Vaidya (16.20) also adds nyāyena and against CN, all the MSS., and the Tibetan, makes all the nominatives plural.
21 Read sātiriktā suvarṇalakṣā saṃvṛttā (B 175) for sātiriktāḥ lakṣāḥ saṃvṛttāḥ (16.18–19); CN 27.12 only omits suvarṇa-.
22 Tentatively reading cāturāḥ (B 175: Tib. sṅar ma rnams) for kātarāḥ, 'faint-hearted' (17.2, CN 27.25).
23 Read te 'nyā niṣkrāntāḥ (B 175: Tib. de dag gzhan ni doṅ ṅo) for te niṣkrāntāḥ (17.4, CN 27.26). According to the fifth century painting of this scene found at Kizil in Central Asia (Schlingloff 1991: fig. 3), these 'others' include Pūrṇa and the two other brothers as well as Bhava's wife and Pūrṇa's own mother (the slave-girl).
24 sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ patanāntāḥ samucchrayāḥ / saṃyogā viprayogāntā maraṇāntaṃ ca jīvitam (17.6–7). This 'verse on impermance' occurs also at Divy 63.16–17, 428.25–26; SBV i.38, 180.
25 These colours appear to be emblematic of the four social classes: dark blue or black for śūdras, yellow for vaiśyas, red for kṣatriyas and white for brāhmaṇas.
26 Or, simply, 'with great ceremony' (mahatā saṃskāreṇa 17.8).
27 I here adopt Bailey's (175) translation of the Tibetan (ñe du rnams kyis kyaṅ dbyas [dpyas?] par ḥgyur gyis). Vaidya 17.11 and CN 28.5 have 'that wouldn't be good' (na śobhanaṃ bhaviṣyati).
28 śreṣṭhin (17.14), lit., 'chief; often translated 'banker' or 'treasurer'. Until the colonial period, bankers in India were usually also merchants who were in turn closely connected with guilds (Basham 1967: 222). Considering the importance of the merchants' guild in this story, my translation emphasizes this latter connection.
29 sārthavāha (17.14). On the role of those who led the large caravans which were so important to overland trade in ancient India, see Basham 1967: 225 and Auboyer 1965: 71–75. By extension, our story applies the term to merchants who led maritime trading expeditions.
30 Read utthāya (B 175) for upasthāya (17.15, CN 28.13).
31 Read anyāś (17.19, B 175) for kānyāś (CN 28.19).
32 Read tābhiḥ sā pṛṣṭā / tvaṃ kathaṃ śīghraṃ labhase / tayā sarvaṃ samākhyātam / (B 175) for tābhiḥ sā pṛṣṭā / tayā samākhyātam / (17.19, CN 28.19). Bailey also notes that in the Tibetan 'the whole passage is considerably expanded'.
33 Read ārogyaṃ jyeṣṭhabhartṛkāyā bhavatu (B 175) for … jyeṣṭhabhavikāyā … (17.21, CN 28.22).
34 Even today Benares (Vārāṇasī) is known for its fine silk brocade.
35 daivayogāt (17.30). One could also translate 'as destiny would have it' or even 'as their karma would have it'. The identical expression occurs also in the next scene.
36 Read parīkṣitam asmābhiḥ (B 175) for pratyakṣīkṛtam asmābhiḥ (18.13, CN 30.1).
37 The meaning of āhūyantāṃ kulāni (18.14, CN 30.3) is unclear. Burnouf (1876: 216 n. 2) also puzzles over the

meaning. B (175) renders the Tibetan (gzu bo mi lṅa zhig bos shig) as 'call five arbiters'. Given the importance of the merchant's guild later in the story, one might even infer 'members of the guild'.

38 Read yady evaṃ, bhavatu mama pūrṇaka iti (B 175). Sanskrit omits yadi (18.19, CN 30.10).

39 Read jyeṣṭhabhrātṛke (B 176) for ° bhavike (18.20, CN 30.11).

40 Read asmābhir bhājitaṃ gṛham (B 176, cf. 18.21, CN 30.13); 18.23, CN 30.15 omit gṛham.

41 For 'brass coin,' the text first reads āra kūṭā kārṣāpaṇa (18.28), then ārakūtamāṣaka (18.28). The Tibetan reads the equivalent of the latter for both (Burnouf 217 n.1, B 176).

42 gośīrṣa-candana (19.1), 'cow's-head sandalwood': a particularly fragrant type of sandalwood, yellow or brass coloured (MW, s.v. gośīrṣa; Chandra 1977: 143). Other versions of the Purna-story use the term 'divine sandalwood' (divyacandana BAKL 36.29c) or 'red sandalwood' (lohitacandana MA v.88.10, raktacandana ThagA i.230.19). Burnouf 557–559 speculates that gośīrṣa sandalwood was thought to have a fragrance reminiscent of a cow's head (!). I have not found any other attempt to explain the term. The application of sandalwood paste; was believed to cool the body. At SBV i.171–172, the physician Jīvaka (unsuccessfully) prescribes this sandalwood to treat the Buddha's wounded foot. Elsewhere in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinada, a man erects a huge pillar of gośīrṣacandana as a devotional offering to the Buddha. Sandalwood was exported from India (Auboyer 1965: 83, Thapar 1966: 114, Chandra 1977: 133); the gośīrṣa variety was imported from Malaya and the island of Celebes (Chandra 143). Apparently, then, Bhavila's trading voyage (25.1 ff.) to the Sandalwood Forest was to present-day Malaysia or Indonesia.

43 pañca kārṣāpaṇaśata (19.1). (Basham 1967: 504), (Auboyer 1965: 110) and (Thapar 1961: 225) discuss various types of ancient Indian coins and offer estimates of their relative value.

44 The Tibetan omits both the word for king (rājā) and the negative (na); Vaidya (19.13) retains only the pronoun asau and omits rājā. Bailey (176) acknowledges that 'the Sanskrit [CN 31.21] may well be right'.

45 By the time of the composition of the Buddhist scriptures, merchants' guilds (vaṇiggrāma 19.25, śreṇi) were a pervasive feature of Indian economic and social life, particularly in those regions where Buddhist influence was greatest (Auboyer 1965: 105–106, Basham 1967: 217). Guilds exercised judicial rights over their members. They could even 'expel a refractory member, a penalty which would virtually preclude him from practising his ancestral trade and reduce him to beggary' (Basham 217). In this episode, Pūrṇa, in the spirit of free enterprise, gets the better of his duplicitous and greedy guild-brothers.

46 This last sentence is lacking in the Sanskrit (19.26, CN 32.12). I supply it from Burnouf 219 and B 176 (Tibetan: gal te soṅ na de la kār ṣā pa ṇa drug bcu dbab bo).

47 Read kiṃ tasya kṛpaṇasyāsti yaḥ śabdyata iti (CN 32.14) for … śabdāyata … (19.28).

48 Read asmākam īdṛśena [= dravyeṇa] pūrṇāni kośakoṣṭhāgārāṇi tiṣṭhanti (B 176) for asmākam api pūrṇāni … (20.4, CN 32.26).

49 Read pūrṇasyāntike vikīya (B 176) for °āntikād … (20.5, CN 33.1).

50 Read … kim aham śabdito mama bhrātā vā (B 176) for … ahaṃ na śabdito … (20.12, CN 33.11).

51 tato vaṇiggrameṇa saṃjātāmarṣeṇa ṣaṣṭeḥ kārṣāpaṇānām arthāyātape dhāritaḥ (20.13–14). I here follow Burnouf (220) and the Chinese translation (T 1448: vol. XXIV, p. 10c20–22) against Edgerton (ED 91b, s.v. ātapa), who tentatively renders ātape dhāritaḥ as 'was assessed a fine'. That such means were employed to force debtors to pay up is suggested by Haradatta Miśra's commentary on Āpastambadharmasūtra II.10.25.11 (ed. Śāstrī & Śāstrī 284.24–25): 'When someone should be made to pay a tax or a debt, he must not be placed in the heat [of the sun] or in the cold or be prevented from eating' (yadā kaś cid karaṃ ṛṇaṃ vā dāpyo bhavati tadā nāsau himātapayor upaniveśitavyo bhojanād vā niroddhavyaḥ). Miśra glosses ātapa as 'heat of the sun's rays' (ādityaraśmitāpa).

52 Read, tentatively, sa sāhaṃkārakāmakāramadatvān nirgataḥ (B 177) for sa sāhaṃkāraḥ kāmakāram adattvā nirgataḥ (20.25, CN 34.1, MSS.) or sa sāhaṃkāraḥ kāmakāramadatvān nirgataḥ (CN 34 n. 1). Tibetan has de ṅa rgyal daṅ ñam du shed daṅ bcas paḥi dregs pas byuṅ ba daṅ.

53 Read yathakrītaṃ (CN 34.3–4) for yathākṛtaṃ (20.26).

54 After te kathayanti sārthavāha, Vaidya (20.26–27) omits dviguṇamūlyenānuprayaccha vaṇiggrāmaḥ pūjito bhavatīti. sa saṃlakṣayati. pūjanīyo vaṇiggrāmo dadāmīti. tena … (CN 34.4–7).

55 I.e., the balance he owed after paying the 300,000 deposit. Read pañcadaśa lakṣāṇi teṣāṃ vaṇijāṃ dattam (CN 34.7) for … vaṇijyaṃ dattam (20.27).

56 From the third century B.C.E. (or earlier) there was an active trade-route running southwest from Śrāvastī and other centres in the Ganges Basin to Sūrpāraka on the west coast. Not only are Aśokan inscriptions found in several cities along this route, but one of Aśoka's Major Rock Edicts was discovered at the site of Sūrpāraka itself (Thapar 1961: 228, 236; Hirakawa 1990: 77).

57 Read te … udānaṃ pārāyaṇaṃ satyadṛṣṭiṃ sthaviragāthāḥ śailagāthā munigāthā arthavargīyāṇi ca sūtrāṇi vistareṇa svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ kurvanti (Levi 1915: 417–418) for te … udānāt pārāyaṇāt satyadṛśaḥ … kurvanti (21.9–10, CN 34.29–35.2). With minor differences, the Koṭikarṇāvadāna (Divy 12.23–25, MSV [ed. Bagchi, ii.168.15–17] and the

Mūlasarvāstivādin Saṃyuktāgama (Tsa-a-han ching T 99: 362cl0) contain the same list. These include what may be the among the earliest Buddhist texts. See Lévi 1915, [Lamotte [1958] 1988: 161–163. (Curiously, Lamotte 161 identifies the Śrāvastī merchants as monks.)

58 Read, tentatively, naitāni gītāni / kiṃ nu khalv etad / buddhavacanam / (B 177) for naitāni ? kiṃtu khalv etad buddhavacanam (21.11–12) or naitāni gītāni kiṃtu khalv … (CN 35.4). Tibetan has … lags so / ḥon ci / de ni saṅs rgyas kyi[s] bkaḥo /.

59 Read idānīṃ kimarthaṃ pravrajasi (CN 35.19) for… kāmārthaṃ … (21.21).

60 A banker (śreṣṭhin) of Śrāvastī and munificent patron of the Buddhist Order. The MSV devotes a substantial narrative to Anāthapiṇḍada (Pāli: °ḍika), including his birth, various encounters with the Buddha, donation of the Jeta Grove and an avadāna (Śayanāsanavastu ed. Gnoli 1977: 11–33). For Theravādin accounts, see Vin ii.154–159, tr. BD V 216–223; MN iii.258–263, tr. MLD 1109–1113; DhpA iii.9–15, tr. BL II 268–271; DPPN I 67 ff. For a Mahāsāṃghika account, see Appendix 4.

61 Read gṛbapate icchāmi … (B 177) for apūrveṇa gṛbapate iccbāmi … (22.1, CN 36.8).

62 Read aho buddhaḥ aho dbarmaḥ aho saṃghaḥ aho svākhyātatā (B 177) for … aho saṃgbasya svākhyātatā (22.3, CN 36.11).

63 This represents Pūrṇa's preliminary or 'lower' ordination (pravrajyā); the verse immediately below his full or 'higher' ordination (upasaṃpada).

64 Burnouf (1876: 223) interprets the last pāda of the verse, evarṃ sthito buddbamanoratbena (22.20), as 'then he sat down, with the Buddha's permission.'

65 For another translation of the Buddha's 'Advice to Pūrṇa' (22.21–24.24), see Thomas 1950: 40–43; the Mūlasarvāstivādin version (Schmithausen 1987: 311–313) is preserved in the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (T 99, chüan 13: vol. II, pt. 2, p. 89bl-c23); the very similar Theravādin sutta is found at MN iii.267270, tr. MLD 1117–1119 and at SN iv.60–63, tr. KS IV 34–36.

66 Read nandīsaumanasye sati saṃrāgo bhavati (B 177) for … sarāgo bhavati (23.2, CN 37.25). Similarly, the several repetitions of sarāga throughout this passage should also be emended to saṃrāga.

67 The phrase 'as before, up to … ' (pūrvavad yāvat 23.6) indicates that the passage has been abbreviated; I adapt the previous paragraph in order to supply the full text.

68 At this point (23.7; cf. previous note) the text again indicates with pūrvavad yāvat that the passage has been abbreviated. However, since here it not clear just what has been abbreviated, I have given the second half of the Buddha's doctrinal lecture – this and the following paragraph – after (Burnouf 1876: 224–225), who completes it from the Tibetan version. The general structure of this section – two descriptions of the effects of succumbing to attractive sensory objects followed by parallel descriptions of the advantages of not so doing –also characterises the corresponding Pāli accounts (MN iii.267.12–268.4, SN iv.60.13–61.4). Thomas (1950: 41) summarises Burnouf.

69 śuklapakṣeṇa … iti ucyate (23.7–8). As Edgerton notes (ED, s.v. śuklapakṣa), Burnouf (1876: 225 n. 1) mistakes the term śuklapakṣeṇa (which he cites as °pakṣe) for part of the formula which denotes abbreviation (see preceding note). Edgerton, however, himself errs by emending the instrumental case to nominative and translating 'it is said that the virtuous group is near to nirvāṇa'. Thomas (1950: 41), following Burnouf, but ignoring śuklapakṣeṇa, translates '[such a monk] is said to be very near to Nirvāṇa.'

70 This last clause (śroṇāparāntakeṣu vāsaṃ kalpayitum) not in the Tibetan (B 178).

71 Read pāpikayā 'sabhyayā paruṣayā vācā (B 177) for … 'satyayā paruṣayā … (23.12, 14, 16; CN 37.11, 14, 17)

72 Read tatra te katbaṃ bbaviṣyati (B 177), 'with respect to that, how will it be for you,' for tasya te … throughout this passage (23.13, 19, 24, 28–29; CN 38.12ff.).

73 As with previous note, read tatra mamaivam (or me evaṃ) bhaviṣyati (B 177) for tasya mamaivaṃ (or me evaṃ) bhaviṣyati throughout this passage (23.15, 20, 25, 31; CN 38.15 ff.)

74 Read santi bhagavataḥ śrāvakā ye 'nena pūtikāyenārdīyamānā jehrīyamāṇā vijigupsamānāḥ śāstram apy ādhārayanti … (B 178) for … jehrīyante … (23.31, CN 39.7).

75 23.30–32. The Theravāda Vinaya reports that a group of monks, engaged in contemplating the loathsomeness of the body – a practice intended to promote detachment – became so disgusted with their own bodies that some committed suicide, some killed their fellows and others persuaded a certain Migalaṇḍika to kill them. As a result the Buddha promulgated a rule prohibiting suicide, persuading to suicide and assisting in suicide. The Dharmaguptaka Vinaya preserves a similar account. See Vin iii.68–71, tr. BD I 116–123 (cf. SN v.320–322) and Mills 1992.

76 Read pūrṇena kṣāntisauratyena samanvāgataḥ (B 178) for ° saurabhyena …. (24.2, CN 39.12).

77 I.e., cross over the ocean of birth-and-death (saṃsāra, bhava).

78 Monks and ascetics were not invariably honoured. In certain circumstances, the sight of one was considered to presage failure in one's undertakings: see, e.g., DhpA iii.31, tr. BL III 282.

79 We must infer that the hunter had already fitted an arrow to his bow.

80 This verse is in the metre called 'Tiger's Roar' (śārdūlavikrīḍita): instead of finding the helpless 'deer' he seeks, the hunter encounters Pūrṇa, 'a tiger of the Dharma,' who, in characteristic Buddhist fashion, acknowledges the 'survival

of the fittest' realities of the natural order, but promotes instead the values of forebearance and compassion.

81 Read kṣāntisauratyena samanvāgataḥ (B 178) for °saurabhyena … (24.19, CN 40.6).

82 Read śaraṇagamanaśikṣāpadeṣu (CN 40.8) for °padeśeṣu (24.20).

83 Reading, with Edgerton (ED, s.vv. uccaka, kocava), °vṛṣikocava° for °vṛṣikoccaka° (24.22).

84 The 'three knowledges' (tisro vidyāḥ 24.23), which are common to Buddhas and Arhats, are (1) 'knowledge of the recollection of previous existences' (pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna SBV ii.249.4 ff.), (2) 'knowledge of the passing away and arising [of living beings]' (cyutyupapādajñāna 250.4 ff.) and (3) 'knowledge of the destruction of the corruptions' (āsravakṣajajñāna 250.24 ff), which last is equivalent to Awakening or Arhatship. For the Theravādin recension, see DN i.81–85 (§§ 92–97), tr. THIH 106–108. Cf. LV 250.13–251.7, tr. Bays II 516 ff.

85 It is not certain whether the pronoun in this sentence (24.23) refers to Pūrṇa or to the hunter. As Schopen (1997: 210) observes of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, our text exhibits "a heavy reliance on pronouns, and sometimes the same pronominal form is used in close proximity with two entirely different referents." According to Burnouf (1876: 227), it is the hunter who attains Arhatship; according to Thomas (1950: 43) and Theravādin recensions (MN iii.269, SN iv.63), as well as the recension preserved in Chinese (T 99: vol. II, p. 89b), it is Pūrṇa. BAKL XXXVI.47, which is clearly dependent on the Pūrṇāvadāna, explicitly states that the hunter attains Arhatship, but the sentence 'Pūrṇa, too, fulfilled (or perfected) in knowledge, became worthy of the worship of the Thirty[-Three Gods]' (pūrṇo 'pi jñānapūrṇaḥ prāptas tridaśapūjyatām XXXVI.49), makes it clear that Pūrṇa also achieves the summum bonum.

86 This passage is abbreviated (yāvat 24.24). I supply the omitted portion from Divy (Svāgatāvadāna)112.8–11. The 'three worlds' are the kāmadhātu, 'realm of desires,' which includes the netherwords, the earth and the lower heavens; the rūpadhātu, 'realm of pure form,' which includes the intermediate heavens; and the arūpadhātu, 'formless realm,' which includes the highest heavens. Lamotte (1988: 32–33), Walshe (1987: 37–43) and Hirakawa (1990: 170–176) all provide summary descriptions of Buddhist cosmology.

87 On the problematic expression vāsī-candana-kalpa, see ED, s.v.

88 The 'six superknowledges' (ṣaḍabhijñā) are clairvoyance, clairaudience, telepathy, knowledge of previous [and future] births, psychic powers (e.g., levitation, passing through solid objects, appearing in multiple bodies) and knowledge of the destruction of the defilements (divyacakṣus, dwyaśrotra, paracittajñāna, pūrva[para]nivāsnāusmṛtijñāna, ṛddhividhijñāna, āsravakṣayajñāna).

89 These four are the knowledge of causes and conditions (dharma-pratisaṃvid), of the characteristics of objects and the intentions of agents (artha-), of languages and linguistic usage (nirukti-) and of eloquent, 'inspired' speech (pratibhāna-). For further details, see Abhidharmakośa (tr. La Vallée Poussin) vii.89 ff.; additional references, ED, s.v. pratisaṃvid; PED, s.v. paṭisambhidā.

90 Visṇu/Kṛṣṇa in his incarnation as Indra's younger brother.

91 Literally, kālakarṇin (24.26, 27, 28) means 'black-eared'; idiomatically, 'omen of bad luck' (ED, s.v.; Agrawala 1966: 69–70); so also in the Pāli commentaries (PED, s.v. kālakaṇṇī). Since kāla also means 'death,' one could also translate kālakarṇin as 'he who wears death in his ear'. In this passage, the brothers and Bhavila are talking at cross purposes: the former regard Pūrṇa's departure as the end of their 'bad luck,' while Bhavila feels Pūrṇa's absence as the departure of good fortune;. Recall also that the three brothers have long been named for the types of earrings they wear (16.15–16). Thus the pair here express their animosity toward Pūrṇa by means of an ironie symmetry with their own nieknames.

92 pūrṇakaśrīḥ (24.27). This form of Pūrṇa's name combines a deprecatory diminutive (the -ka suffix) with an honorific suffix (śrī) used in like spirit. Bhavila, however, deflects his brothers' hostile irony by taking the -ka as an affectionate diminutive and the śrī as a true honorific or simply in its other sense of 'good fortune;'.

93 Here Bhavila alludes to the underhanded way in which his brothers acquired all of the family's wealth and contrasts it to Pūrṇa's brilliant success as a trader.

94 Text here abbreviated (pūrvavat yāvat 24.32).

95 yaksa (Pāli yakkha; 25.3 ff.), a sort of nature-spirit or minor divinity, frequently associated with trees. Buddhist literature; often portrays yakṣas as hostile, bloodthirsty and even fond of human flesh, yet usually amenable to conversion (PED, s.v. yakkha; Jones 1979: 181–184). In the MSV (tr. Przyluski 1914: 505–509, 513–514, 516–517), during the Buddha's tour of northwest India and Kashmir, the yakṣa Vajrapaṇi assists him in converting several hostile yakṣas and yakṣīs. Elsewhere in the MSV (SBV ii.168–171), another yakṣa, Kumbhīra, gives up his life to save the Buddha's. The single most comprehensive study of yakṣas remains Coomaraswamy 1928–31.

96 Read mahākālikāvātabhajaṃ saṃjanya (B 179) for mabāntaṃ kālikā° (25.8, CN 41.11).

97 Read, tentatively, kiṃ kartavyatāṃ manyadbvam iti (B 179) for kiṃ manyadbvam iti (25.10, CN 41.13).

98 Read śivavaruṇakuberavāsavādyāḥ (B 179) for °kuberaśakrabrahmādyā (25.12; CN 41.16–18 prints as prose). This is both supported by the Tibetan and corrects the metre (puṣpitāgrā). Here Vāsava is a name for Indra.

99 Another name for Indra.

100 Viṣṇu and Śiva.

101 Read vātapiśācadaṣṭhāḥ (CN 41.22) for °dasthāḥ or °yaksāḥ (25.19). Or, if we equate piśāca with yakṣa, translate,

with Burnouf (229), 'assailed by the wind and the demons'.

102 Read jarādharmāhaṃ kiṃ tvāṃ viheṭbayāmi tvam eva māṃ viheṭhayasi (B 179) for jarādharmāhaṃ (°dharmo'haṃ V) kiṃ māṃ evaṃ viheṭhayasi (26.3, CN 41.17).

103 Our text gives no clue as to where Pūrṇa, a monk, is supposed to have obtained a large quantity of precious stones. However, if we are to understand the gems were part of the wealth Pūrṇa amassed prior to taking holy orders, this would constitute additional, if indirect support for Schopen's (1997: 3–5) contention that, contrary to the monastic codes and to long-held scholarly assumptions, monks and nuns did in fact own and dispose of personai property.

104 This sentence (rājā kathayati bhavantaḥ śobbanaṃ prāsādam 26.16, CN 43.7) lacking in the Tibetan (B 179, Burnouf 230 n. 2). It may be a gloss on the next sentence (sarvajātakṛtaniṣṭbitaḥ saṃvṣttaḥ) which became incorporated into the text.

105 At DhpA ii.213, tr. BL II 224, the distance is given as 120 'leagues' (yojanas). According to a modern map, the distance between Śrāvastī and Sūrpāraka is about 900 miles (1500 km.). Thus in our story a yojana represents between 7.5 and 9 miles (cf. Basham 1967: 503–504, Kosambi 1970: 161).

106 Read āgārikena (B 180; ED, s.v. āgārika), 'householder,' for ārāmikena (26.24, CN 43.20), 'gardener'.

107 Read viśuddhaśīlin (B 180) for °śīla (26.25, CN 43.22) to restore the upajāti metre.

108 Ānanda was the Buddha's cousin and, for the last half of the Master's teaching career, his personal attendant. He is credited both with having recited the sūtras at the First Council and with having convinced the Buddha to permit the ordination of women. For some Mūlasarvāstivādin traditions concerning Ānanda, including several avadānas, see SBV ii.52–67; for Theravādin accounts, see Nyanaponika & Hecker 1997: 137–182.

109 'He who uses a water-pot as a pillow' (27.4). This Pūrṇa is given the same epithet in the Sumāgādhāvadāna (Iwamoto 1978: 66). The term may be meant to suggest strict adherence to an ascetical life-style. Cf. Pāli Kuṇḍadhāna (DPPN, s.v.) and the terse one-sentence account in the Puṇṇovādasuttavaṇ-ṇanā (Appendix 1).

110 The term prajñāvimukta (27'.4, 11) refers to one who has attained arhatship through intellectual analysis or intuition without attaining the higher yogic 'absorptions' (samāpatti) which alone confer such powers as flight, clairvoyance, etc. The 'insight-liberated' individual is one of seven types of practitioners classified according to temperament (MN i.477–480, tr. MLD 580–583) and, according to SN i.191, by far the most common. On the seven types, see Sangharakshita 1967: 154–158, Gombrich 1996: 96–134. On the 'meditation-and-insight-liberated' (ubhayatobhāgavimukta) monk and the 'insight-liberated' monk as representing the opposed ideals of the arhat as ascetic, meditation-focussed forest-dweller and as comfortable, monastery-dwelling, text-focussed ecclesiastic, see Strong 1992: 70–74 and Ray 1994: 198–203, 434 ff.

111 Prasenajit was King of Kośala, which was, during the Buddha's lifetime (c. 480–400 B.C.E.), the most powerful state of the Gangetic plain. Śrāvāstī was its capital.

112 Mṛgāra was Prasenajit's chief minister (see preceding note). His story is part of that of his daughter-in-law, Viśākhā, who converts him to Buddhism. See Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavastu (ed. Bagchi) i. 198.1 ff.; for Theravādin accounts, DhpA i.387 ff., tr. BL II 61 ff.; Nyanponika & Hecker 1997: 247–254.

113 Read sudattasya (B 181) for sujātasya (27.8, CN 44.13). Sudatta is Anāthapiṇḍada's given name. Cf. ED, s.v. sujāta 6.

114 According to the third paragraph above (27.2–3 in Vaidya's text), Ānanda, the Buddha and an unspecified number of senior monks have already taken food-tickets.

115 Usually only non-adherents, who do not recognize the Buddha as the Awakened One, address him by this, his elan name. In his exaltation, Pūrṇa is being very familiar!

116 Read jarayāpi nipīḍitayauvanā (B 180) for jarayā hi ni° (27.18, CN 44.25).

117 caityaśalākā-(27.20). The first element of this compound, caitya, most commonly refers to a Buddhist shrine, usually a mound or structure which contains holy relics. Its precise function here is unclear. Edgerton (ED, s.v. caitya), however, points out that caitya can denote 'any object of veneration,' including, for example, monastic robes.

118 As, in the Theravādin tradition (AN i.24), the Buddha says of Kuṇḍadhāna.

119 In the canonical literature;, although he himself does so from time to time, the Buddha forbids monks to use supernormal powers in order to impress the laity (Strong 1979: 72). In the avadānas, the Theravādin commentaries and Mahayana sūtras, it is quite otherwise (Jones 1979: 166).

120 The passage is abbreviated (pūrvavad yāvat 27.25). I supply the omitted portion from the previous paragraph.

121 Read tato bhagavān bahir vihārasya pādau prakśālya vihāraṃ praviśya prajñapta evāsane niṣaṇṇa ṛjuṃ kāyaṃ praṇidhāya pratimukhaṃ smṛtim upasthāpya (B 180, CN 20.17) for … praviśya ṛjuṃ kāyaṃ praṇidhāya pratimukhaṃ smṛtim upasthāpya prajñapta evāsane niṣaṇṇah (28.11–12, CN 46.3–5).

122 Such earth-tremors typically portend significant spiritual events, particularly the Bodhisattva's birth and occasions when the Buddha is about to expound the Dharma (Thomas 1949: 31–32, Strong 1977: 401).

123 Read pañcabhir arhacchataiḥ (CN 46.20) for … arhacchāntaiḥ (28.21).

124 Abbreviation (28.21–22) of a long stock passage deseribing the Buddha's entry into a city. For the full text, see Avś 302–303 (19).

125 Another stock description (28.23–25), which occurs several times in our story, with different auditors achieving different levels of spiritual attainment. Cf. Divy 470.26–28; Avś 301–302 (14), tr. 13–14 (22).
126 These twenty false views (satkāyadṛṣṭi), listed in the Mahāvyutpatti (4684–4704), all have to do with 'grasping after a self and what is connected with a self' (ātmātmīyagrāha). This is another stock passage found elsewhere in our text (32.10) and elsewhere in Divy (467.25, 470.28).
127 The first of five stages of spiritual development in which arhatship has become certain, 'the fruit of entrance into the stream' (śrotaāpattiphala 28.25) includes rapt confidence in the Three Jewels, observance of the prescribed moral precepts, considerable insight into the Doctrine and the certainty of attaining liberation within seven more births. In the avadānas this is the level of realization characteristic of the new or recent convert. Later scholasticism introduced a number of stages preliminary to 'stream-entry'. See Visuddhimagga (tr. Ñāṇamoli) 785–818; Lamotte 1988: 46–47, 614–619; Hirakawa 1990: 203 ff.
128 ED, s.v. gharinī, has 'housewife'; Burnouf (235), Divy Index (CN), 'widow'.
129 On these physical features (28.26–28), common to world-rulers (cakravartins) and world-saviours (Buddhas), see SBV i.49.23–51.17; DN iii.142 ff., tr. THIH 441 ff.; Mppś 271–281; ED, s.v. lakṣaṇa 4.
130 Stock description of the Buddha (28.26–28): see Avś 297 (3), tr. 8 (16).
131 Text abbreviated with yāvat (29.2); full text taken from the conversion of the goddess of the Jeta Grove, described above.
132 Read devamanuṣyeṣv atikrāntābhikrāntāḥ (B 180) for … atikrāntābhikrāntāḥ (29.6, CN 47.17) and … ātikrāntābhikrāntāḥ (CN 47 n. 4).
133 The stock 'testimonial' of the new convert who has attained insight into the doctrine (29.3–6). Cf. Avś 303 (21), tr. 13 (20).
134 Read tatas tayā jetavananivāsinyā devatayā tasmin stūpe medhyām sā bakulaśākhāropitā (B 180) for … stūpe yaṣṭyāṃ sā … (CN 47.23–25; in addition, 29.10 omits devatayā). However, Edgerton's definition of medhī (ED 439a; Tibetan ḥkhor sa), as 'galleries running around a stūpa' makes little sense here. Chandra Das's Tibetan-English Dictionary (193a) defines ḥkhor sa as 'the path for circumambulation around a sacred building or other object' and glosses it with the Skt. pradakṣiṇapaṭṭikā, 'courtyard'. Cf. Burnouf 236 n. 2. Hence, in the next sentence, my laboured translation of bakulamedhī.
135 There is considerable evidence (Fa-hien: 1886: 44–47, Schopen 1997: 30–34, 75, 92–93, 238–253) that monks (and nuns) were very active in the stūpa-cult, both as devotees and donors; it may be that our author or redactor was not himself inclined toward such practices.
136 Read haritaśādvalaṃ kṛṣṭaṃ sthaṇḍilāni pātitāni (B 180–181) for … kṛṣṇaṃ … (29.17, CN 48.3). "
137 maharṣayaḥ (29.18, CN 48.5) lacking in Tibetan (B 181).
138 For this and the preceding three paragraphs, read bhagavān āha. ṛṣayaḥ kiṃ puṣpaphalasalilasaṃpannam āśramapadaṃ vinaṣṭaṃ. kim yathāpaurāṇaṃ bbavatu. bhavatu bhagava;n. tato bbagavatā prasrabdhā yathāpauraṇaṃ saṃvṛttam (B 181) for bhagavān āha kim. te kathayanti bhagavān puṣpā- … -padam vinastam yathapāuraṇaṃ bbavatu. bbavatu ity āha bhagavāṃs tato bbagavatā ṛiddhiḥ prasrabdhā … (29.19–21, CN 48.7–10).
139 Read dharmadeśanā kṛtā (CN 48.13–14) for … kṛptā (29.23).
140 The anāgāmin (29.24) attains release after a final birth in one of the higher heavens; for references, see n. 127 above.
141 Read pātrakarakavyagrahastāḥ (B 181) for pātrakaravyagra° (29.27–28, CN 48.21).
142 Burnouf (237) interprets the final pāda of this verse (evaṃ sthitā buddhamanorathena 29.32) as 'then they sat down, with the permission of the Buddha'.
143 This passage is abbreviated (pūrvavad yāvat 30.1). I supply the omitted portion from Divy 112.6–11.
144 This expression (pañcagaṇḍaka [saṃsāracakra] 30.1) refers to the classification of conditioned existence in terms of the different types of living beings: gods, humans, revenants, animals (deva, manuṣya, preta, tiryañc) and denizens of the hells (naraka, niraya). To these five 'destinies' or realms of rebirth (pañcagati) a sixth is sometimes added, that of 'anti-gods' (asura). See Hirakawa 1990: 175–176. For an account of how the Buddha taught monks to use a pictorial representation of this schema – the famous 'Wheel of Life' (bhavacakra, saṃsāramaṇḍala) – to instruct the laity, see Divy 185.1–186.10, tr. Przyluski 1920: 314–317; additional references, Lamotte [1958] 1988: 77.
145 This stock description of the Buddha is here abbreviated (pūrvavad yāvat 30.6); I supply the omitted portion from the episode of the 500 matrons (28.26–27).
146 The account of Vakkalin's ordination is abbreviated (pūrvavad yāvat 30. 13); I supply the omitted portion from the ordination of the 500 sages (29.26–30). For Theravādin accounts of Vakkalin and the Buddha, see SN iii. 119–124; DhpA iv.117–119, tr. BL III 262–264; AA i.248–251.
147 Read saptadaśa rājaputrāḥ (B 181) for °daśa putrāḥ (30.19, CN 49.25).
148 Read sa janakāyo bhagavantam apaśyan candanamālaṃ prāsādaṃ bhettum ārabdhaḥ (30.22, CN 50.1). Bailey (B 181) emends the negated nominative singular present participle apaśyan to the 3rd sg. imperfect verb apaśyat.

However, since the crowd being unable to see the Buddha is crucial to this scene;, I cannot accept the emendation (so also Burnouf 239). Cf. Sumāgadhāvadāna (ed.-tr. Iwamoto) 84–85, 141–149, where we find the same scene;, but in a different setting and, except for the Buddha and his monks, with different participants.

149 According to Burnouf (239 n. 2), the Tibetan adds, 'so that the crowd of people could clearly see the body of the Buddha'. Bailey makes no mention of it.

150 For mahān viśeṣo 'dhigataḥ (30.26), see viśeṣādhigama (ED, s.v.): "'specific attainment,' grasping one thought so intently that dhyāna is attained."

151 Planting 'roots of merit conducive to liberation' and to 'states of penetration' (mokṣabhāgīya-kuśalamūla and nirvedhabhāgīya-kuśalamūla 30.26–27) are stages of doctrinal comprehension preliminary to Entrance into the Stream.

152 A 'once-returner' (sakṛdāgāmin 30.27), who has attained the third of the five stages of the Path, will be reborn on earth only once more before attaining final release. For references, see n. 127.

153 pretyakabodhi 30.29. The 'solitary' or 'private' Buddha (pratyekabuddha) hardly appears in the canonical literature;; the jātakas, avadānas and Theravādin commentaries are his real venue. Unlike an arhat and like a Buddha, he attains Awakening through his own unaided efforts; unlike a Buddha, he does not found an Order. Solitary Buddhas only arise during periods when there is no Fully Awakened Buddha. See Kloppenborg 1974, Jones 1979: 167–168, Ray 1994: 213–250, Mppś II 1068–1069; Divy 182.11 ff., 490.3 ff. The protagonists of Avś Book III (ed. Speyer 119–167, tr. Feer 93–111) are present or future; pratyekabuddhas.

154 samyaksaṃbodhi (30.29). That is, they resolve to become Buddhas in some future birth; cf. the protagonists of Avś Bk. I (ed. Speyer I 1–62, tr. Feer 24–50). In a rather more polemical spirit, chapters VIII and IX of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka feature the Buddha foretelling the Buddhahood of many of his most eminent arhat disciples.

155 Read atha dārukarṇī stavakarṇī trapukarṇī śuci praṇītaṃ bhojanīyaṃ samudānīya … (B 181). CN 50.14–15 and 30.31 read ca for śuci. Burnouf's (239 n. 3), but not Bailey's, Tibetan adds, 'having provided water in a jar made of precious stones'.

156 Nāgas (31.1 ff.), translated variously as 'serpent,' 'divine serpent' or 'dragon,' appear widely in Buddhist literature;. They have the power to assume human form. In iconography nāgas are often depicted as snakes with human torsos, arms and heads. They are sometimes hostile and dangerous, often benign, sometimes pious; usually the Buddha converts the hostile ones who then become guardians of the Dharma. Perhaps the most famous nāga in Buddhist literature is Mucilinda (Pāli: Mucalinda), who shelters the newly-Awakened Buddha during a week-long thunderstorm (SBV i. 126; Mv iii.300–301, tr. III 287–288; Vin i.2–3, tr. BD IV 4). For a selection of other narratives featuring nāgas, see Divy 344–346, Przyluski 1914: 510–515, 562–565; SBV i.111–113, 217–218; Vin iii.145–147, tr. BD I 248–251; DhpA iii.442–445, tr. BL III 172–174. Vogel's (1926) old study remains a valuable survey.

157 Read maudgalyāyana (B 181) for mahāmaudgalyāyana (31.5, CN 50.25).

158 pratigṛhāṇa mahāmaudgalyāyana tathāgatasyātyayikapiṇḍapātam (31.5–6, CN 50.25–26). As the Buddha's examples show, and as Burnouf (568) and Edgerton (ED, s.v. ātyayika) explain, the term 'irregular' (or 'special' or 'transgressive' or 'untimely') almsfood (ātyayikapiṇḍapāta) refers to a meal taken in a manner or at a time – for example, after noon, when monks are not supposed to take solids – which violates strict Vinaya regulations, but which irregularity is justified by circumstances. What remains unclear is the sequence of narrative events. While one is tempted to suppose that a passage has been omitted, neither Burnouf nor Bailey mention any additional material in the Tibetan. I infer the following sequence of events: if he is to intercept the nāgas, the Buddha cannot take the time to have lunch at the home of Pūrṇa's brothers. Instead, he has Maudgalyāyana fetch his meal. When Maudgalyāyana returns with the food, the Buddha takes it with him, meets up with the nāgas, admonishes and instructs them, and only then eats. Finally, he accepts a beverage – the part of the meal he did not bring with him – from his new lay-disciples.

159 Read upadhau (CN 50.28) for upādhau (31.8). Cf. upadhivārika (31.7, CN 50.28) & see Abhidharmakośa (tr. La Vallée Poussin) iv.15; ED, s.v. upadhi (2).

160 Read samanvāharata nāgendrau sūrpārakaṃ nagaraṃ māgocarībhaviṣyati (CN 51.1–2) for … nagaram āgocarībhaviṣyati (31.9–10)

161 These are the 'Five Precepts' binding upon all Buddhists: abstention from killing, taking what is not given, sexual misconduct, false speech and the use of intoxicants (Lamotte [1958] 1988: 69).

162 Read yady ekasya pānīyaṃ pāsyāmy apareṣāṃ bhaviṣyaty anyathātvam (B 182) for … ekasyaiva pānīyaṃ pāsyāmy eṣāṃ bhaviṣyaty … (31.15, CN 51.10–11).

163 'Jambudvīpa,' the traditional name for the Indian subcontinent.

164 Read parikared (CN 51.23; ED, s.v. parikarati) for parihared (B 182; Tib. khur du thogs sam) or paricared (31.23)?

165 On the importance of family obligations for monks and nuns, see Strong 1983b, Schopen 1997: 56–71.

166 Read yan nv ahaṃ samanvāhareyaṃ (B 182) for yad ahaṃ … (31.28–29, CN 52.4).

167 We might expect Maudgalyāyana to here repeat the entirety of the Buddha's speech, but the text does not indicate that the passage has been abbreviated.

168 Maudgalyāyana, foremost among the Buddha's disciples with regard to the exercise of supernormal powers, frequently visits other worlds: see Divy 185.1–18 (all worlds); Avś nos. 41–45 (preta-realms), Mv i.4–26, tr. I 6–21 (hells); i.27–33, tr. 22–28 (asura and deva realms); MN i.252–255, tr. MLD 345–347; KS I 182–184, IV 185–189 (deva realms).
169 The scene begins in Śrāvastī, on the Gangetic plain, and since Mt. Sumeru, home of the gods, is located somewhere north of the Himalayas, we must assume that the Buddha and Maudgalyāyana have already come a long way!
170 'Fair Maiden,' the name of Maudgalyāyana's mother in her new birth.
171 Read bhavanto (B 182) for bhadanto (32.6, CN 52.19).
172 Read bhavanto mameme skandhā anayā saṃvṛddhāḥ (CN 52.20–21) for mama ime skandhā anyāḥ saṃvṛddhāḥ (32.7). On skandha in the sense of 'physical constituents' of a person, see ED & MW, s.v.
173 This passage is abbreviated (pūrvavad yāvat 32.11); I supply the omitted portion from the episode of the matrons (29.3–6).
174 Read apetadoṣaṃ (32.14, B 182) for °doṣā (CN 52.30).
175 Stock verses praising the Buddha as imparter of salvific knowledge (32.1217); cf. Divy 221.17–20, 471.1–12; Avś 303 (21), tr. 13 (20).
176 Read āgatāḥ smo bhagavan / āgatā maudgalyāyana I tato vismayāvarjitamatiḥ kathayati I kiṃnāmeyaṃ bhagavann ṛddhiḥ / (B 182) for … bhagavān āgatāḥ / maudgalyāyanas tato … kathayati I kiṃ nāmeyaṃ … (32.27–28, CN 53.20–22).
177 This term (manojavā 32.28) also appears, without being defined, in a list of varieties of profane magie, at Divy 332.23.
178 Read na mayā bhadanta vijñātam evaṃ gambhīrā buddhadharmā iti (B 182) for … vijñātam evaṃ gambhīram evam gambhīrā … iti (32.28–29, CN 53.22–23).
179 Read saṃyaksaṃbodheś cittaṃ vyāvartitam nābhaviṣyat (B 182) for Ê vyāvartitam abhaviṣyat (32.30, CN 53.25).
180 Cf. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (ed. Vaidya) 71.7–21, (tr. Kern) 98–99, where Maudgalyāyana and other senior arhats express similar sentiments, only with much greater fervour and at much greater length.
181 That is, not in the external, physical world. On the 'four elements,' see Sangharakshita 1967: 103.
182 A rather free translation of the compound skandha-dhātu-āyatana (33.5), suitable to a narrative, as opposed to a philosophical, context. For discussion of these technical terms, see Conze 1967: 107–113, Lamotte [1958] 1988: 28–31.
183 Read kalpakoṭiśatair api (Divy 82.10, 118.18, 439.15; B 183) for api kalpaśatair api (33.7, CN 54.9).
184 With some variations, this verse and the preceding paragraph (33.1–8) form a stock description of the operation of the law of karma. Cf. Divy 82.10–11, 88.6–7, 118.18–19, 175.1–2, 192.23–24, 439.15–16, 490.1–2, 491.18–19; SBV i.2, 42, 44, 117, 147, 157–159; Adhikaraṇavastu (ed. Gnoli 1978) 63.
185 In a 'fortunate' or 'auspicious' aeon (bhadrakalpa 33.9), like the present one, five Buddhas appear. Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, is the fourth; Maitreya will be the fifth. On the classification of aeons, see Buddhavaṃsa (tr. Horner), pp. xxvii–xxviii.
186 Read tasyāyaṃ śāsane pravrajitas tripiṭakaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ saṃghasya ca dharmavaiyāvṛtyaṃ karoti (B 183) for … tripiṭakasaṃghasya ca …. (33.12, CN 54.15–16).
187 Read yady apy evaṃ tathāpi tu pravrajya karaṇīyam tat kṛtam ahaṃ sakalabandhanābaddhas tvaṃ sakalabandhanabaddhahḥ kharaṃ te vākkarma niścāritam (B 183) for yan mayā pravrajya caraṇīyaṃ tat kṛtam ahaṃ sakalabandhanabāddhaḥ kharaṃ … niścāritam (33.19–20, CN 54.26–55.1).
188 This and the previous two paragraphs (33.25–29) form the stock conclusion of numerous avadānas: see Avś 304, 299; tr. 2 (2), 3 (5); the final sentence, or one very like it, also concludes any number of sūtras: e.g., DN i.46, 86, 158, 160, 223, ii.54, 252 (tr. THIH 90, 109, 147, 149, 180, 221, 313); Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa.

CHAPTER THREE

A Study of the Pūrṇāvadāna

As discussed in the introduction, jātakas and avadānas share a common tripartate narrative structure: a 'story of the present' (pratyutpannavastu), a 'story of the past' (atītavastu) and a 'juncture' (samavadhāna), where the protagonists of the two separate narratives are identified. This is certainly true of the Pūrṇāvadāna. However, for purposes of literary analysis, it is more instructive to divide the story of the present into two main parts, corresponding to Pūrṇa's secular and religious careers. While the distinction between Pūrṇa the eminent merchant (sārthavāha) and Pūrṇa the monk (bhikṣu) seems clear, there is a transitional period where he is neither wholly one nor the other. This liminal phase, which portrays the process of transformation, begins with Pūrṇa listening to the scriptures chanted by the merchants from Śrāvastī and ends with his ordination by the Buddha. In terms of such a division, the story of the past becomes a subsection of the second, 'religious' part of the story.

The Allegory of the Names

That being said, close reading of the text shows that even in the first part of the story the theme of entanglement in and liberation from saṃsāra is implicitly articulated by means of carefully-chosen allegorical elements. These elements, as well as others which occur later in the story, provide a kind of figurative subtext that reinforces and extends meanings and themes developed in the narrative on more literal levels. Particularly striking is the 'allegory of the names' articulated in the first few pages of the story.

The first part of the Pūrṇāvadāna (pp. 46–57)[1] tells an entirely secular tale about a family of merchants. At the same time, the very first sentence (p. 46) establishes the Buddha as the presiding presence: "The Lord was staying at Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada's park in Prince Jeta's Grove." The Buddha, the city of Śrāvastī, the Saṅgha's great patron, Anāthapiṇḍada, and the Buddha's private cell (gandhakuṭī, 'perfumed chamber') in the Jeta Grove Monastery – all figure prominently in the religious developments in the second part of the story. These correspondences do not, however, become explicit until Pūrṇa is sought out by the merchants from Śrāvastī and sets out on his seventh and final trading voyage, during the course of which hearing the 'word of the Buddha' (buddhavacana) inspires him with faith in the Lord (pp. 57–58). Then, in fact, Pūrṇa is told by the merchants – and the reader is reminded – that the Lord "'is living in Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada's park in the Jeta Grove'" (p. 58).

Nevertheless, at the very outset of the story the names of Bhava, his three legitimate

sons, the name of Pūrṇa, and the circumstances of Pūrṇa's birth, taken together, articulate a fundamental theme common to Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism – the entrapment in and liberation from saṃsāra, the endless round of birth-and-death. It is also noteworthy that at this early stage the allegorical presentation does not depend upon any specifically Buddhist doctrines or personalities.

"Bhava," the name of the wealthy householder who becomes Pūrṇa's father, means 'existence' or 'becoming;' it is also a synonym for saṃsāra.[2] The man Bhava is, stands for, conditioned existence and (in the Buddhist schema) the impermanence (anityatā), unsatisfactoriness (duḥkha) and lack of a permanently-abiding self (anātman) said to characterize all conditioned existence. And it is only when Bhava transgresses the strict rules of caste and custom by fathering a child upon a slave-girl that the conventional world can be transcended by the fruit of this 'unnatural' union. We note that it is not Bhava's legitimate children who tread the path to Awakening and transcend bhava by becoming arhats – though they do take the first step by becoming lay-disciples – it is Pūrṇa, the bastard son.

The names of the three legitimate sons – Bhavila, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin – reinforce this set of ideas. They are all true sons of Bhava. "Bhavila" is a patronymic. "Bhavatrāta" means 'rescuer of Bhava' – an allusion to the Brahmanical notion that by his performance of the appropriate rites the son secures the welfare of his father's soul in the afterlife.[3] "Bhavanandin" means 'Bhava's delight,' another way to denote a son.

Although the text does not offer any such etymological explanations of the sons' names, these meanings and their implications would have been apparent to the contemporary reader or auditor. Furthermore, if one wishes to make Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin – who to some extent are the villains of the piece – 'bad in name as well as deed,' the following analyses are also possible: bhavanandin as bhave nandati, 'he who delights in worldly existence;' bhavatrātah as bhava eva trātaḥ yasya, 'he whose refuge is worldly existence'.[4] By contrast, our narrative alludes explicitly to the etymology of the name "Pūrṇa" (pp. 47–48):

> And the very day on which she conceived marked the fulfillment of all Bhava's goals and all of his undertakings…. On the very day that boy was born, to an even greater degree than before, all of the householder Bhava's goals and all of his undertakings were fulfilled.

This itself is striking, as what could be particularly fulfilling for a man with three healthy sons to father a bastard? At this early stage in the narrative, Pūrṇa's special role is not indicated, but that it will be special is not left in doubt. However, for present purposes, what is significant is that the term I have translated as "fulfillment" and "fulfilled" is the participle paripūrṇa. The prefix, which functions as an intensifier, can here be ignored without significantly altering the meaning, and so it is that only after this pointed phraseology we learn that the fourth son, the darling of Bhava's old age, is given the name "Pūrṇa." As a participle, the term can mean "fulfilled, finished, accomplished, ended, complete;" as an adjective it is also used to denote the Absolute.[5] In terms of this

allegorical structure, then, Pūrṇa, rather than the legitimate brothers, becomes Bhava's (and bhava's) true fulfillment, and thus even in the midst of this 'merchants' tale,' the 'glorious deeds' (avadāna-s) of the second, explicitly Buddhist, part of the story are clearly prefigured.[6]

This complex of allegorical elements also involves Pūrṇa's parentage. In the story of the past (pp. 81–82), the Buddha ascribes Pūrṇa's birth as the son of a slave-girl to the karmic consequences of the "deed of harsh speech" committed five hundred lifetimes before. Yet continuing to bear in mind the double-meaning of "Bhava," the implications are richer and more interesting. To explicate this we must first refer to the thoughts attributed to the unnamed slave-girl[7] after the ill Bhava's "exceedingly abusive language" has led to "his wife and even his sons" ignoring him.

> "… now he has fallen ill, and his wife and even his sons will have nothing to do with him. It would not be right for me to ignore him, too" (p. 47).

It would appear, then, that her sense of what is right is her only, or principle, motivation. We can ascribe to her only a strong sense of duty and compassion for a sick and suffering man, compassion being one of the cardinal Buddhist virtues. Compassion, by uniting with the suffering world, engenders a son who shall be commended for his 'patient forebearance' (kṣānti) by the Buddha himself, who shall attain Awakening and bring many to the practice of the True Doctrine (saddharma). In terms of our allegorical reading, karuṇā or compassion (the slave-girl) unites with bhava, the conditioned world (Bhava, the inherent suffering of which is symbolized by the illness) by means of which it is perfected or fulfilled (pūrṇa) through Awakening, the basis for Pūrṇa's glorious deeds.

As is characteristic of literary works, a seemingly simple and straightforward narrative recounts far more than at first seems to be the case.

Similarly, in contrast to the detailed description of Pūrṇa's birth, upbringing and education, Bhava's marriage and the birth of his first three sons are related rather succinctly and schematically. We may go so far as to say that the descriptions of the naming ceremonies and the brief discussions with the relatives are presented in as much detail as they are simply to show that Pūrṇa receives the same traditional honours as did his brothers and that, from the very outset, Bhava accepts the bastard son as (at least) of equal stature to his legitimate ones. Indeed, along with the allegorical elements discussed above, the additional details recounted about Pūrṇa – the eight nurses, the eight examinations – single him out as of especial importance.

Another literary strategy is that what is left out may be as revealing as what is specified. This technique of narrative analogy – one passage commenting upon or elucidating another, similar passage – intensifies the narrative force of the story.

In the slave-girl's insistence that Bhava reward her care in nursing him back to health by sleeping with her, the narrative utilizes what was likely a point in traditional – though not Brahmanical – law[8] as a kind of logic to further the action. By bearing her master's child, the slave-girl is freed and a mechanism created whereby Pūrṇa may be born of a slave-girl without impugning the virtue of his father.

Returning to narrative indications of Pūrṇa's special status, we find that in contrast to his brothers, the new-born Pūrṇa is favoured with a detailed, if conventional, physical description (pp. 47–48):

> He was well-formed, good-looking, handsome, with a golden complexion, a large, round head, long arms, a broad brow, eyebrows that joined and a prominent nose.

Shortly thereafter, we also learn that "the boy Pūrṇa grew rapidly, like a lotus in a deep lake." The lotus is of course the traditional Indian emblem of beauty and purity adopted by the Buddhists, for whom it became a symbol for the mind's progress toward Awakening: just as the lotus grows to a beautiful and spotless blossom out of the mud of lake-bottoms, so Buddhas, arhats and other spiritual heroes develop their perfections in the midst of this imperfect, suffering, conditioned world.[9]

The contrast, made through narrative analogy, between Pūrṇa and his brothers, establishes a theme that is developed throughout this first section of the story. Immediately after this fulsome description of the infant Pūrṇa we learn in some detail of Pūrṇa's education in the "traditional learning" of the merchant class. In fact, Pūrṇa becomes something of an expert in his field, analogous to a youth of the priestly class mastering the Vedas or one of the ruling class distinguishing himself in the arts of war and government. Again, with respect to the brothers' educational attainments, the text is pointedly silent.

As Pūrṇa grows up and comes to participate in the family business, his superior aptitude serves to demonstrate his innate superiority. As his father exclaims, "'Truly he is a being who is great due to merit [acquired in previous births].'"

The three elder brothers, "filled with passion" for their wives, spend money on costly jewelry instead of increasing the family's wealth through assiduous application to trade. This continues until, shamed by Bhava into abandoning their self-indulgent ways, they undertake their first overseas trading expedition and return having each earned the hundred thousand gold coins that Bhava has specified as being the mark of a respectable married man (p. 48). Overseas trade was considered the most dangerous and by far the most profitable mode of commerce, yet, of the four brothers, it is the much younger and far less experienced Pūrṇa – whose name we recall also means 'success' – who adds most to the family coffers merely by running the shop in Sūrpāraka. Pūrṇa's mercantile ability is the mark of a being superior in every way and portends that, far from being the bastard son of a slave-girl – an epithet with which his brothers' wives later disparage him – he is, by reason of his karma, a spiritually advanced individual who succeeds at everything to which he turns his hand. In the Semitic religious traditions, he might be said to be in a state of grace.

This scene, reported with a minimum of mediation, for it is represented largely through dialogue, articulates another important theme, particularly apposite, involving as it does the most worldly of affairs: it is the least grasping and the least selfish who are the most successful, even in the market-place. Virtue and good deeds can be rewarded even in this conditioned life. This theme is further developed in the following episode, which concerns

the very important topic of family unity, one involving conflicts that are only resolved in the second part of the story, through the all-healing agency of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

In this scene the author again employs the immediacy of dialogue as well as the heightened effect aehieved by metaphoric analogy. Bhava has again fallen ill, although this time it is not an illness that can be overcome by attentive nursing and medicines; it is the inevitable decay inherent in all compounded things, the solemn truth of which Bhava memorializes in verse (p. 50):[10]

All accumulation ends in loss, all exaltation in decline,
All union in separation, and all life in death.[11]

Such sentiments were not exclusively Buddhist, but pan-Indian, and familiar to the ears and lips of most Indians of the time, educated and uneducated alike. Once again, the text, in this first section, maintains a carefully non-sectarian position.

Pūrṇa's Superiority and the Theme of Family Unity

Faced with the prospect of his imminent death, Bhava's thoughts turn naturally enough to the welfare of his children and, by extension, his lineage. He accurately discerns the seeds of discord on the verge of germination and thinking, "'After my death, these sons of mine shall have a falling-out'," he makes a last-ditch effort to prevent the inevitable. Bhava dramatizes the situation by having his sons build a fire and then extinguish it by separating the burning coals. This is a deft reversal of typical Buddhist imagery – that of the passions as fire and the exhaustion of craving, enmity and delusion (tṛṣṇā, dveṣa, moha), its fuel, as constituting the attainment of Nirvāṇa, the very etymology of which means 'blowing out' or 'cooling'.[12] Here, however, keeping the fire brightly burning symbolizes the life and positive energy of human community, so easily extinguished by the divisiveness of self-centredness and jealousy. As in the case of many of the verses in the Pūrṇāvadāna, Bhava's 'teaching device' both advances the action and addresses itself directly to the reader/auditor. The importance of Bhava's metaphor is underlined by his 'interpretation' of it being cast in formal verse and this, too, is a characteristic device of our story.

Bhava discerns that his sons are too readily influenced by their wives, who are more concerned with what they perceive to be the status of their respective husbands than with the welfare of the family as a whole. Hence his verse. As we shall see, the divisiveness and pettiness attributed to women is at once essential to the development of the action and so unreflectively employed that it likely reflects contemporary stereotypes.[13] In any case, what is emphasized is that greed destroys affection. Yet by the absence of any narrative comment, we are left in doubt as to whether Bhava's carefully orchestrated and poetically illustrated lesson is under-stood by all his sons. Bhava says, "My sons, did you see?" The sons reply, "Father … we saw!" (p. 49), but this response is thoroughly ambiguous. Moreover, Bhava is by no means confident that his

dramatization and his poetic summation of its significance has had the desired effect, at least on Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, for after those two depart (p. 49), and just before he dies, Bhava confides to Bhavila, his eldest: "Son, you must never foresake Pūrṇa; he is a being who is great by reason of his merit."

Before examining further the break-up of Bhava's family, it is well to ask: why is this such an important theme in the Pūrṇāvadāna? It forms the central axis of the action in the first part of the narrative, to be finally resolved in the second part. Answering this requires external reference, a brief excursus.

From the earliest times the Buddhist and other śramaṇa movements received considerable support from the rising mercantile communities. At the same time, the essential practice of renouncing lay life in order to become a celibate ascetic met with considerable criticism and a certain amount of opposition. In later times, the Brahmans integrated the śramaṇa ascetic-ideal by formulating the ideał of the four stages of life (caturāśrama), whereby they acknowledged, at least in theory, that the highest religious ideal was indeed complete renunciation of worldly life, but only after one had fulfilled one's duty to forebears and society by producing and training the next generation. To renounce the world in the prime of life was for many an abomination. The Buddhist scriptures themselves record that many of the good citizens of Kapilavastu, the Buddha's natal city, blamed the Buddha's movement for the destruction of families and the making of widows and orphans. In short, in more than one quarter it was the Buddhists who were branded as destroyers of families. As we shall see, our story articulates an indirect refutation of this criticism. Here and throughout, the story promotes Buddhist values as family values: though their immediate goals may be different, both layman and renunciate can succeed only by cultivating selflessness, compassion and the other moral virtues set forth in the Buddha's teaching.

The accounts of Bhava's two illnesses employ narrative parallelism to advance the progress of the narrative. The first illness provides both the indirect occasion for Pūrṇa's birth and an element in the allegorical structure discussed above. The second highlights that fundamental Buddhist doctrine, universal impermanence, introduces the central topic of family unity, and by dispensing with Bhava as a character, permits Pūrṇa, Bhavila and the other brothers to move into the forefront of the action.

Three other parallel episodes follow immediately upon Bhava's death. The three older sons now appear to take seriously their roles as merchants and their duty to preserve the integrity of the family. Nevertheless, they ignore Bhava's judgement of Pūrṇa as a being of rare merit and again relegate Pūrṇa, consummate trader though he be, to a subordinate position in the family business. Again parallel scenes (narrative analogy) heighten dramatic effect to establish thematic import. Just as Bhava (p. 49) prevented Pūrṇa from accompanying his brothers on their first overseas trading expedition, so now the brothers prevent him from going on the second voyage. The important difference here is that now the brothers know full well that Pūrṇa is the best businessman among them. Unlike Bhava, who merely wished to protect his youngest child, they are fearful of being shown up by a younger brother who is moreover only the son of a slave.

These three episodes dramatize Bhava's worst fears. In the first (pp. 50–51), which we

may call the 'episode of the housekeeping money,' the servants are delayed in obtaining the day's housekeeping money because Pūrṇa, who in his brothers' absence dispenses these funds, is "surrounded by wealthy men, guild-masters, caravan-leaders and others who lived by commerce" (p. 50). This scene is somewhat ambiguous, since the reason for these men attending upon Pūrṇa is not made explicit. Most likely, Pūrṇa has already developed a reputation as a skilful trader and these eminent members of the mercantile community are seeking his advice, somewhat in the fashion that modern corporations retain consultants, with the difference being that Pūrṇa does not charge for his services. This scene also establishes, in a single sentence, a vivid contrast between Pūrṇa's almost Cinderella-like status within the family and his role in the larger community. This is of course part of the ongoing portrayal of Pūrṇa as a superior being; at the same time, it highlights, by contrast, the groundless calumnies levelled against him by other members of the family.

It is the maidservants, trying to deflect their mistresses' anger at their tardiness, who introduce the abusive expression that is to become the key to the Buddha's explanation of Pūrṇa's karma.

> "That's what happens to those in families where the sons of slave-girls run things as they will!" (p. 51).

That the servants are delayed in obtaining the housekeeping money is trivial enough. Indeed, its significance lies in its very triviality, for the brothers' wives, Pūrṇa's sisters-in-law, unreasonably inflate its importance. The maidservants are culpable, but they are merely trying to evade punishment for a situation over which they had no control. Bhavila's wife shows her good sense when she does not remonstrate but merely suggests how her maidservant can prevent the situation from recurring. On the other hand, the wives of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, resentful of Pūrṇa's maternal origins and of his superior business acumen, not only become angry at Pūrṇa himself but also at Bhavila's wife for not blaming Pūrṇa. Then, in specious justification of their own bigotry and jealousy, they seize upon and reiterate their servants' peevish outburst (p. 50) and later repeat it to their husbands (p. 51). Appropriate to the mercantile context, the ostensible point of contention is related to money, though it is clear that what is really at stake is the wives' sense of wounded vanity at being kept waiting by one who is in their eyes a low-caste bastard who makes everything unbearable by being so exasperatingly capable.

At this point (p. 51), Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin are still mindful of their father's warning and recognize the groundlessness of their wives' complaints: "'Women cause divisions among friends.'" At the same time, the nobility of Bhavila and his wife is reiterated: "'My dear, did Pūrṇa take proper care of you?' '… As if he were my own son or brother'."

Beyond the specifics of this episode, we find here dramatized an old and venerable Buddhist theme – whether personal status and worth are determined by birth or by conduct. In the sūtra-literature, the debate is typically between a Brahmin, who contends that members of his class are inherently superior to those of other classes simply by

virtue of their being born Brahmins, and the Buddha, who argues that good and evil, wise and foolish, noble and base individuals are found in all social classes, so that superiority and inferiority are more matters of nurture than nature, learning than lineage.[14]

In the story of the past which concludes the Pūrṇāvadāna, the Buddha explains why Pūrṇa was born the son of a slave-girl and yet was able to attain arhatship in terms of his "deed of harsh speech" and his sincere spiritual training five hundred births previously (pp. 81–82). Nowhere, though, does the Buddha or the omniscient narrator specify the social class of that 'original' Pūrṇa. The point is that it is not important.[15] The doctrine of karma, as the moral law of cause-and-effect, is universal, impersonal and impartial. All deeds of body, speech and mind which are not morally neutral have karmic consequences (karma-vipāka, -phala), whether in the present or some future birth. If anything, the selfish or cruel deeds of a person of status and influence are likely to have more drastic consequences, for the wickedness of a religious teacher, ruler or other influential person is bound to do greater harm than that of, say, a poor farmer whose actions affect no one outside his immediate community. The Buddhist position emphasizes the action and the intention (cetanā) behind the action as well as the effect of the action upon other living beings. The social or religious or cosmological status of the agent is secondary; even the gods are subject to their karma, how much more so Brahmins, kings and merchants.

The 'episode of the housekeeping money' depicts the wives of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin puffed up with the hubris of class pride, just as many sūtras depict individual Brahmins. Here, directed toward the mercantile classes, the Buddhist injunction to judge by merit alone is presented in a more familiar context.

The next two episodes, which we may call the 'Benares silk episode' (p. 51) and the 'pastry episode' (p. 51) add two other, equally trivial, incidents which, for the same reasons as in the 'episode of the housekeeping money,' so infuriate the wives of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin that they prevail upon their weak and ineffectual husbands to divide the joint family. In themselves the episodes are unremarkable. In the first, Bhavila's son visits Pūrṇa in the family shop and receives a gift of fine Benares silk. In expectation of similar bounty, Pūrṇa's sisters-in-law send their sons, but by then Pūrṇa has only cheap cotton cloth. Similarly, later, when Pūrṇa gives pastries to Bhavila's son, the mothers of the other two boys send them to get their share, but so rapid is Pūrṇa's turnover, that by then, "as luck would have it" (daivayogāt), he can give them only molasses.

Daivayogāt, however, might as well be translated 'as fate would have it' or even 'in accordance with their karma'. The narrator is reminding us that nothing here is really accidental: it is not that Pūrṇa willed that Bhavila's son should receive the best gifts – it had to happen that way. It may even be an Indian analogue to the Biblical dictum of the sins of the fathers being visited upon the sons. In any case, some causal relationship is implied between the virtuous couple, Bhavila and his wife, and the gifts their son receives from Pūrṇa, and the two selfish and petty couples, and the gifts their sons receive.

In each case, the wives of the two younger men are indignant at the treatment their sons receive. The first time, the husbands, still mindful of their father's dying command, manage to mollify their wives. The second time, as the narrator informs us, "the two

women carried on so much that their husbands undertook to divide the joint family" (p. 51).

Bhava had cautioned, "do not be swayed by your wives" and "families are divided by women …" (p. 49). The brothers' conversation shows that it is not Pūrṇa's actions or attitudes, but those of the women, which are the source of the problem. Despite this and despite also their positions of authority over their wives, they accede to their demands. They do share their wives' resentment against Pūrṇa, but Bhava has already anticipated an even more compelling motive (p. 49):

> "Just as faulty recitation destroys a spell's efficacy, so greed destroys affection."

The old man's prescience is quickly borne out as Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, without consulting their elder brother, devise a plan whereby Bhavila, if he is to honour their father's dying words, shall be obliged to give up all claim to the family's considerable wealth (pp. 51–52). Both the brothers' confabulation and their refusal to discuss the matter with Bhavila are depicted through dialogue with a minimum of narrative 'intrusion'. Now, their greed fully awakened, they decide to regard Pūrṇa not only as the slave-girl's son but as a slave himself, seemingly dispensing with any memory of the man all four men called father. At the same time, even now they implicitly acknowledge Pūrṇa's great abilities, for even as a chattel, he is accorded a value equivalent to the entire family business and to all their landed estates. For the brothers this is a ploy to wrest authority from their elder brother, humiliate Pūrṇa, placate their wives and seize all the family's wealth for themselves, but at this juncture neither they nor Bhavila realize exactly how just is the settlement they have imposed.

The final scene in this series of events, the intended coup de grace, is the exile of Pūrṇa, Bhavila and the latter's family, precipitated by their ruthless eviction by the two brothers (p. 52). As the predominantly dialogic presentation of the conspiracy between Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin renders more graphic their perfidy, so here the dialogue intensifies the poignancy of the scene as these innocents are driven from shop and home.

In a sense, then, the first renunciation in our tale is not that of Pūrṇa, but that of Bhavila (p. 52):

> Bhavila thought, "I was told by our father: 'Even if you [have to] renounce all of your worldly possessions, you must take care of Pūrṇa.' I will take Pūrṇa." And having decided this, he said, "If that is so, then I shall have Pūrṇa."

As Alter points out, in dialogue which is repeated at different points in a narrative, even minute alterations can have profound thematic significance. Here Bhavila recapitulates Bhava's dying command not to abandon Pūrṇa, but also adds to it a most rigorous provision – "[e]ven if you [have to] renounce all of your worldly possessions." Bhavila is not merely a dutiful son, but a virtuous man in his own right, and he is not made to wait long for his fidelity to higher moral principles to be rewarded: with his purchase and resale of the sandalwood, Pūrṇa soon rescues Bhavila's family from penury (p. 53).

What comes to mind here is the hero's exile in the Rāmāyaṇa. Out of similarly high

principles, Rāma accepts injustice, foregoes the kingdom that is rightfully his, and with his wife goes to exile in the forest. Bhavila, of course, is not a great king or military hero and he does not, as did Rāma, wander for fourteen years, but merely sets out for the home of some relatives (p. 52), yet the injustice, the nobility of character, the exile and the eventual vindication are parallel.

At the same time, Bhavila's renunciation of his patrimony foreshadows, by narrative analogy, Pūrṇa's later and more radical renunciation (pp. 58–60). Bhavila is not renouncing worldly life to become a monk or ascetic, but his actions certainly fall within the paradigm of relinquishing worldly power and possessions for a moral or spiritual ideal. This succession of episodes which culminates in the exile is climactic with respect to the development of the character and motivations of the two younger brothers as well as of Bhavila. As the actions of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin reveal them to be the weak and greedy men their father feared them to be, the actions of Bhavila validate the faith his father had in him and prove him to be a man of virtue and integrity, even a model of the virtuous layman, just as Pūrṇa shall later become a model for the fully-committed spiritual seeker. Moreover, while Bhavila does not have to wait long to regain financial security, his noble deed bears even greater fruit when, in rescuing him and his compatriots from Maheśvara's hurricane, Pūrṇa grants not only physical succour but also the living reality of the Dharma (pp. 66–67). This suggests not only a narrative but also a karmic logic. Bhavila's deeds are not as 'glorious' as Pūrṇa's but are nevertheless held up as exemplary.

To complete our discussion of the theme of family unity we must consider one further episode and one additional brief scene.

Immediately after Pūrṇa, now a monk, returns from Śrāvastī to Śroṇāparāntaka and converts the hunter and his followers (pp. 63–64), we learn that "the wealth of Dārukarṇin's [Bhavila's] two brothers dwindled, shrank and finally was exhausted" (p. 64). With Pūrṇa out of the way, the two approach Bhavila and propose reuniting the family: "He is gone from our house, that one who appears as an omen of misfortune. Come, we shall live together."

Bhavila, however, has been forewarned by Pūrṇa (p. 58), and without his brothers being aware of the fact, he repeats to them more or less what Pūrṇa had told him: "You two acquired your wealth by immoral means. My own was acquired justly. I shall not set up housekeeping with you two."

Having already succeeded – and with little effort – in appropriating the family property and businesses from their elder brother, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin assume they can again readily take advantage of him and help themselves to the wealth that Pūrṇa earned prior to his renunciation. However, when Bhavila stands firm, their false heartiness quickly evaporates (p. 65):

> "That son of a slave crossed and recrossed the great ocean and earned great profits which you boast of enjoying. What ability have you to set out on the great ocean?"

This accusation – at least partially true – stings Bhavila into undertaking the overseas

trading expedition that almost costs him his life. In the immediate context, Bhavila, having once succumbed to his brothers' blackmail, now refuses to give in to their hypocritical and self-serving blandishments. The family is not reunited, but for a far better reason than it was originally divided.

And so it remains until some greater force – the Dharma – comes into play. After their miraculous rescue in the Ox-Head Sandalwood Forest, Bhavila and the five hundred merchants "became filled with faith in the Venerable Pūrṇa" (p. 67). Safely back in Sūrpāraka, Pūrṇa builds the Sandalwood Pavilion "'for the use of the Lord'" (p. 67). We then read:

> And Pūrṇa made all the brothers forgive each other and instructed them: "Invite the community of monks, headed by the Buddha, and serve them a meal" … So [Pūrṇa's] brothers went before the king. They approached, performed obeisance with their heads at his feet and said, "Lord, we wish to invite the community of monks, headed by the Buddha, in order to serve them a meal. May Your Majesty make arrangements to assist us" (pp. 67–68).

Having passed beyond a mercantile career to a spiritual one, Pūrṇa is no longer perceived by Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin as a competitor. His fame as a great caravan-leader has been eclipsed by his fame as a wonderworker and arhat. Numerous families now regard him as their benefactor, if not saviour, and his Dharma as definitive. All over Sūrpāraka, in some of the most eminent houses, the citizens sing his praises. Moreover, he possesses true spiritual power and like his Teacher, his will is mysteriously compelling. Petty jealousies are revealed for what they are: trivial, ephemeral, irrelevant. The king himself, pleased with the Sandalwood Pavilion, willingly participates in making the arrangements for the visit of the Lord Buddha (p. 70). In this ambience of celebration and nascent devotion all men change for the better. The narrative has moved from the saṃsāric world of greed and egoism to that same world transformed by Pūrṇa and the Buddha himself, bearers and embodiments of the Dharma. Bigotry, jealousy and greed divided the family; now the Dharma reunites it.

This, then, is the Buddhist refutation of the charge that, under the guise of promoting spiritual development, the renunciate traditions contribute to the destruction of society, that the Buddha is a maker of widows and orphans. Our story nowhere explicitly addresses the issue; rather, as I have tried to demonstrate, it is a theme that is gradually built up and finally resolved through narrative development, each successive episode adding to the picture, until a complete pattern is achieved.

From Sārthavāha to Śramaṇa, Merchant to Monk

Having examined the pattern by which the break-up and eventual reunification of the family is articulated, we now turn to a more detailed consideration of Pūrṇa's personal development, first as an independent trader; then as a Buddhist monk, missionary, arhat and Sūrpāraka's great spiritual hero.

With Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin's appropriation of the family's property and the dispossession of Pūrṇa, Bhavila and his family, the first stage of Pūrṇa's career (or the first of Pūrṇa's careers) comes to a close. Although Pūrṇa has been described (p. 48) as a master of the traditional learning of the vaiśya (mercantile) class and although much is made of his almost praeternatural skills as a trader, so long as he is merely acting on behalf of the joint family his business successes are in a sense not his own. It is only when (p. 53) Pūrṇa sets out for the market with a coin from Bhavila's wife in order to buy breakfast for her children, his ears smarting with her rebukes, that the sequence of events is set in motion from which he emerges as a great caravan-leader. Flat broke and feeling responsible for innocent children going hungry, Pūrṇa's trading instincts are fully aroused. Indeed, he has already told his sister-in-law (p. 52):

> "How could I have known that our family would end up like this? Had I known this would happen, I would have appropriated several hundred thousand [from the family business]."

When he encounters the man carrying a load of what he recognizes as extremely valuable 'ox-head' sandalwood (p. 53), he quickly realizes the opportunity to make amends to Bhavila and his family for what they have suffered on his account. The purchase of the sandalwood for five hundred silver coins and the profit of the same amount earned from selling just a few small pieces of it mark the beginning of Pūrṇa's meteoric rise as an independent trader. Even at this early stage, Pūrṇa restores Bhavila's family to prosperity, presenting them with "such necessities of life as a man- and a maidservant, cattle and water-buffaloes, and cooked food" (p. 53). Several subsequent episodes, one after the other, then chronicle the rapid development of Pūrṇa's wealth, fame and influence.

In ancient India, wealth and influence were frequently associated with royal patronage,[16] and this is just what Pūrṇa now succeeds in obtaining. The first of these episodes we may call the 'episode of the king's illness' (pp. 53–54). The royal ministers learn that Pūrṇa is in possession of some yellow ('ox-head') sandalwood, which has been prescribed to treat the king's fever. Pūrṇa sells them a small amount for a thousand silver coins. An ointment prepared from the sandalwood quickly brings down the fever and before long Pūrṇa has been summoned before the king. Well aware of the situation, Pūrṇa brings along four small pieces of the sandalwood, which he sells to the king for three hundred thousand gold coins, a hundred thousand less than he is offered. Here another dimension of Pūrṇa's mercantile genius is revealed: "'One piece is a gift to your Majesty." With the valuable sandalwood, Pūrṇa earns the king's gold; with his magnanimity, he earns the king's respect (p. 54):

> The king said, "Pūrṇa, I am well pleased! Tell me: what boon shall I grant you?" Said Pūrṇa, "If Your Majesty is pleased with me, may I be permitted to live in Your Majesty's kingdom undisturbed?" The king commanded his ministers: "Sirs, from this day forth, you may give orders even to the crown princes, but not to Pūrṇa."

Pūrṇa has parlayed the king's good will into a royal dispensation, one which was normally available only to persons of royal blood and monks. Implicitly, then, we already have intimations of Pūrṇa's third, final and most glorious career.

Having gained the special favour of the king as well as having earned in one transaction as much as did his three brothers through overseas trade, in the next episode Pūrṇa strikes a blow for free enterprise against the monopolistic power of the Sūrpāraka merchants' guild (pp. 54–56). When foreign traders arrive in the city with a large stock of wares, the merchant' guild decides not to inform Pūrṇa of this business opportunity, assuming, apparently, that after Bhavila's dispossession, Pūrṇa is no longer in any position to engage in trade – and this despite the fact that previously (p. 50) a number of its members had consulted Pūrṇa on financial matters. Here we find an analogy to Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin's treatment of their younger half-brother; now, however, Pūrṇa easily circumvents these machinations. He learns of the shipment himself, independently arranges to purchase all of it and when, enraged at being beaten at their own game, the guildmembers torture Pūrṇa for refusing to pay the fine for breaking a guild regulation about which he had not been informed (purchasing such shipments independently), he shames them before the king. Yet this is not all, for when the king wishes to purchase some of that merchandise, mindful of his promise to Pūrṇa, he commands the guildmembers to provide the goods (p. 56). And it is only after humbling themselves before Pūrṇa that he agrees to sell them a portion of the shipment – and then at twice the price he paid.

Anxious about the consequences of failing to carry out a royal command, in their efforts to induce Pūrṇa to part with some of his wares, the guildmembers fawningly address him as "'great caravan-leader'." Now a caravan-leader (sārthavāha) is no mere merchant, however prosperous. The term refers to a man who organizes and leads long-distance, often foreign, trading expeditions, an expert not only in merchandise, but in men, pack-animals, trade-routes, trade-practices in different countries, customs regulations, defense, etc. Here, by extension, our author applies sārthavāha to one who leads overseas trading expeditions, that most profitable and dangerous of all commercial enterprises. Historically, the caravan-leader was both businessman and adventurer and the spread of Buddhism throughout Asia was intimately connected with his activities. Among the trading classes, these were men who commanded great prestige.[17]

At the moment he is first addressed thus, Pūrṇa is already a phenomenally successful businessman, but a caravan-leader he is not. However, the guildmembers' desperate flattery sets Pūrṇa thinking, for that is indeed his next step: "'Is it possible to fill a jar with dew-drops? I shall cross the great ocean!'" (p. 57).

> Pūrṇa had the proclamation-bell rung in Sūrpāraka City. "Hear ye, merchants of Sūrpāraka! Pūrṇa, the great caravan-leader, shall cross the great ocean! Whomsoever amongst you wishes to cross the great ocean with the great caravan-leader Pūrṇa, free from customs duties, escort charges and freight fees, he is to gather together the trade-goods he wishes to take with him across the great ocean."

Crossing the great ocean is of course precisely what Pūrṇa's father and brothers had not permitted him to do (pp. 49, 50). Now his father is long dead, the wishes of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin are irrelevant and the text offers no indication of any opposition on Bhavila's part.

As in everything else he undertakes, Pūrṇa is nothing if not successful, and becomes the caravan-leader sina qua non. For the development of the narrative no details of his voyages are required,[18] though to emphasize his accomplishments and to provide a logic for the all-important seventh voyage (pp. 57–58), the narrator reports that "The word spread about in the vicinity: 'Six times Pūrṇa has crossed the great ocean and returned, his ship safe and sound'" (p. 57).

Here we are on the verge of the second part of the story where religious themes, the 'glorious deeds' proper, become the focus of the narrative. Pūrṇa's motivation for his first six voyages are mercantile – "'Is it possible to fili a jar with dew-drops?'." By means of his six trading voyages Pūrṇa, who mastered the theory of trade in his youth and who is already a luminary in domestic commerce, now surpasses anything accomplished by his brothers or envisioned by his father. A favorite of the king, enormously wealthy, his achievements celebrated in his community, he has reached the apex of any conceivable mercantile career.

In fact, Pūrṇa is sated. To adapt an expression usually reserved for describing a monk's attainment of arhatship, in the mercantile sphere, Pūrṇa has 'done what had to be done' and as a trader can know no greater life beyond that which he has already achieved. For Pūrṇa the turning point comes when merchants from Śrāvastī – where, as we already know from the first sentence of story, the Buddha is wont to stay – seek him out, on the basis of his reputation, to lead an overseas trading expedition. With his personal motivation gone, at first Pūrṇa is most reluctant; eventually, out of good will, he agrees (p. 57):

> Pūrṇa reflected, "Though I do not seek any more wealth, I shall nevertheless cross [the ocean] for their sake." And so Pūrṇa, accompanied by those merchants, set out on the great ocean.

If not exactly ascetic detachment, this is disinterested action, one of its analogues, and it is clearly no accident that the merchants turn out to be devotees of the Buddha.

This shift from the explicitly 'secular' to the explicitly 'religious' is also mediated by a complex of (albeit conventional) allegorical elements which have been operative throughout the story, beginning with the three elder brothers' first overseas expedition (pp. 48–49). The key words here are "set out on the great ocean",[19] the formulaic expression employed to describe merchants departing on an overseas trading voyage. However, just as the name 'Bhava' also means saṃsāra, so also does the term 'great ocean' (mahāsamudra). Again, this allegorical usage is not exclusively Buddhist, but pan-Indian. The ceaseless churning of the waves, the vastness, the danger, the sudden and unpredictable storms, the shoals and reefs – even, for traders, the attraction – are all, by analogy, properties of the endless cycle of birth-and-death. Related to this is 'crossing to

the further shore' as an image for salvation or Awakening. Such symbolic meanings would have been familiar to the contemporary audience.

The overseas trip of Pūrṇa's three half-brothers is a purely secular one. They are depicted as luxury-loving, prone to sensuality and as undertaking the voyage principally to gain their father's approval. They all earn the required one hundred thousand gold coins, but only Bhavila develops a more mature sense of responsibility. At this early stage and, later, after Bhava's death, Pūrṇa, for all his business acumen, is portrayed as the younger brother who wants to imitate and be accepted by his older brothers. Only after the break-up of the joint family does he get his chance: then he becomes the great caravan-leader. Yet there are no indications in the story that Pūrṇa is much attracted to wealth per se. This of course is entirely consonant with what is revealed in the story of the past – that for five hundred births Pūrṇa has been working out the karma of a Buddhist monk. On another level, one that would have had particular resonance for the mercantile classes, Pūrṇa is that "being who is great due to merit [acquired in previous births]" (p. 49 [twice]), first a secular, then a spiritual hero, with the second career, both in terms of narrative and karmic logic, dependent upon the first. As the great caravan-leader, Pūrṇa is a vaiśya analogue to the great kṣatriya heroes of the Sanskrit epics, a Buddhist hero with whom merchants and traders can more readily identify than the Buddha whose apotheosis, by the early centuries of the Common Era, was well developed. Indeed, the exploits of Pūrṇa may have inspired others to follow his example all the way to ordination. In this sense, Pūrṇa's transition from merchant to religious aspirant is not to be construed as a condemnation of worldly life in general or a business career in particular, but rather a glorification of both in their place.

Pūrṇa's business successes, culminating in his six voyages as a sārthavāha, dramatize the secular stage of this ideal. The voyages in particular portray the fulfillment ('pūrṇatā') of those talents impeded first by ignorance (Bhava) and later by unreasoning hatred and jealousy (the brothers). By the seventh voyage (pp. 57–58), the allegorical implication shifts: "setting out on the great ocean" becomes 'bound for Nirvāṇa' – the journey toward worldly success becomes the quest for salvation. This resonance between the literal and figurative meanings of overseas trading continues as the narrative develops. When Pūrṇa receives permission from Bhavila to "go forth into the homeless life," his parting words begin (p. 58):

> "Brother, on the great ocean there is much sorrow and little joy. Many cross; few return. You must on no account cross the great ocean."

Pūrṇa's warning refers to both the physical dangers involved in ocean travel and the suffering (duḥkha) inherent in conditioned existence. He warns Bhavila that there is both a high mortality rate among ocean voyagers and that few triumph over the passions and ignorance which lead to continued rebirth and further suffering. The karmic fruits of his former life as a monk under the Buddha Kāśyapa (pp. 81–82) are beginning to ripen. They have led him to his mercantile successes and thence to his renewed acquaintance with the teaching of a Buddha; it is from this knowledge that he now speaks, though with

respect to his own awareness of his purpose, he is only just setting out on the Path to Awakening (bodhimārga). Of course, in terms of the larger frame of reference of the story as a whole, he has been on the path for at least five hundred and one lives.

Later (p. 66), in the Yellow Sandalwood Forest, when Bhavila and his colleagues face imminent death, he explains his resignation to them by repeating Pūrṇa's admonition. The attentive reader cannot fail to notice the narrative analogy. Bhavila repeats Pūrṇa's words more or less verbatim, but attributes to Pūrṇa one additional phrase: "'Blinded by greed (tṛṣṇāndha), many cross; few return'." Strictly speaking, it is wounded pride rather than active greed which induces Bhavila to embark on his third overseas expedition (p. 65), but this slight discontinuity enables the author to play upon the double-meaning of tṛṣṇā (thirst, craving, greed). It refers both to the greed of merchants for profits and, as a Buddhist technical term, to the craving born of ignorance (avidyā) that is one of the Three Poisons[20] which pervade the mind adrift in saṃsāra.[21]

It is now appropriate to examine in some detail the four stages by which Pūrṇa the sārthavāha becomes Pūrṇa the śramaṇa. As we have noted in passing, the first stage is when Pūrṇa, on board ship, somewhere in the middle of the ocean, listens as the merchants from Śrāvastī perform their devotions (pp. 57–58):

> At night, at the time just before dawn, those merchants chanted in their entirety 'The Exultations' (Udāna), 'The Way to the Further Shore' (Pārāyana), 'Discerning the Truth' (Satyadṛṣṭi), 'Verses of the Elders' (Sthaviragāthā), 'Verses Concerning Śaila' (Śailagāthā), 'The Sage's Verses' (Muni-gāthā) and 'Discourses Concerning the Goal' (Arthavargīya Sūtras). After listening to them, Pūrṇa exclaimed, "Sirs, you sing beautiful songs!"

Pūrṇa's first response is an aesthetic one. There has been no indication that he has heard of the Buddha, nor even that he is aware of any renunciate groups or practices. His only point of reference for the merchants' chanting is song; his initial response is merely that they are beautiful, but it is clear that he is moved.

We should also note that, with the exception of the scene of 'exile,' where Pūrṇa and the Bhavila family are driven out of shop and home (p. 52), this is the first scene in the story in which the time of day is specified. Moreover, it is the only scene which takes place at night: "[a]t night, at the time just before dawn" suggests that mysterious time, not the 'dead of night' associated with ghosts and necromancy, but that transitional period when night is waning and day is yet to come. Here the temporal and physical setting – mid-ocean, no longer in Sūrpāraka, not yet at the destination; at night, yet with the dawn imminent – mirrors Pūrṇa's nascent transformation.

> They replied, "Caravan-leader, these are not [mere] songs! How could you possibly think that? These are the words of the Awakened One, the Buddha!"
>
> Hearing the title 'Buddha,' which he had never heard before, Pūrṇa got goosebumps all over. Very respectfully, he asked, "Sirs, who is this person named 'the Buddha'?" (p. 58)

At this crucial, but early stage, Pūrṇa's reaction is intensely emotional and physical. He is moved first by the beauty of the chanted verses and then, on learning the identity of their author, he is positively electrified. While being wary of making facile categorizations, we may say that here Pūrṇa has attained the stage of a lay-disciple (upāsaka), all the more remarkable for his never having met the object of his devotion. After learning from the merchants something of the Buddha's history and accomplishments, Pūrṇa is described as "[b]earing the Buddha in his heart" (p. 58). In short, this scene depicts Pūrṇa's 'awakening of faith'.

Other observations are to be made here. The pré;cis of the Buddha's career provided by the merchants from Śrāvastī, conventional though it be, presents an obvious parallel between the Buddha's career and that of Pūrṇa. At this point, as Pūrṇa is poised between the worldly and renunciate life, the reader is reminded that Siddhārtha Gautama forsook his life of luxury and power and "with right faith went forth from his home into the homeless life" (p. 58), later to achieve Awakening. Clearly this is an invitation to liken Pūrṇa's life to the Master's. Furthermore, the phrase "with right faith" refers both to the confidence with which the young Siddhārtha undertook his spiritual quest and the faith with which Pūrṇa responds to the Buddha-word and the Buddha-name.

In this context it is also worth asking: what sort of religious 'songs' are the merchants reciting? All the texts mentioned in the passage are in verse and include some of the earliest datable Buddhist scriptures.[22] These verses describe the benefits of the renunciate life: they extol restraint of the senses and of mind-fulness; they hold out the prospect of liberation from craving, from entanglement in speculative views and from the suffering inherent in worldly pursuits. They also unstintingly praise the greatness and wisdom of the Buddha. Those texts which are also found in the Pāli Suttanipāta[23] take the form of dialogues in which the Buddha responds to questions by monks and Brahmans. Systematic exposition of doctrine is minimal. Even the famous Four Noble Truths (caturāryasatyāni) and the Noble Eightfold Path (āryāṣṭāṅgikamārga) are conspicuous by their absence, although a number of the same issues are addressed.

In short, what so affects Pūrṇa is Buddhist ascetic poetry. As the first-century Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa states at the conclusion of his Saundarananda, the beauty of poetry – or, as I would put it, the literary arts in general – has the power to attract to the Dharma those who would not otherwise be attracted to it.[24] The effect on Pūrṇa of the poetry is also the intended function of the narrative art of the Pūrṇāvadāna.

Finally, Pūrṇa's entrancement with the merchants' recitation and his intense response to merely hearing the name 'Buddha' anticipates the story of the past where the Buddha reveals that Pūrṇa has in fact served under a previous Buddha (pp. 81–82). In terms of the chronology characteristic of avadānas, Pūrṇa's sensitivity has deep karmic roots. If he is not exactly remembering the teaching of the Buddha Kāśyapa, neither is he hearing something entirely new. By virtue of his former religious career as a disciple of Kāśyapa, Pūrṇa is predisposed toward devotion to the Buddha and to the life of a Buddhist ascetic: his present experience triggers or activates the karmic traces of those ancient experiences. Indeed, part of the karmic 'reward' for his study and service under that former Buddha is his encounter with Gautama, the present Buddha (p. 82).

The second stage in Pūrṇa's transformation from sārthavāha to śrāvaka involves obtaining permission from his elder brother to take up the religious life. We may note at the outset that with the sure instinct of the story-teller who knows just when to alter the emotional tone of the narrative in order to prevent the audience's attention from flagging, the author moderates the profundity and solemnity of these events with a touch of humour.

Other than Pūrṇa's inner transformation, the seventh voyage has been similar to the six preceding – he returns to Sūrpāraka, his "ship safe and sound," the stock phrase denoting a successful voyage (p. 58). However, Bhavila, to whom Pūrṇa is very dear and who continues to honour his father's command to look after his youngest brother, greets what appears to be a wan and fatigued Pūrṇa and decides that "[h]e has been exhausted by his voyages across the great ocean" (p. 58). We may recall how Bhava reminded his self-indulgent sons that he had not even married until he had earned a respectable fortune (p. 48). By now, of course, Pūrṇa has earned both fame and fortune and for Bhavila the logical next step is for his brother to turn from merchant-adventurer (sārthavāha) to, perhaps, banker/guild-leader (śreṣṭhin), settle down and fulfill the householder's dharma of marrying and raising a family (p. 58):

> "Tell me, brother. Of the two – a rich landowner or a caravan-leader – which should I ask on your behalf for his daughter in marriage?"
>
> Pūrṇa replied, "I am not seeking the pleasures of love. If you will permit it, I shall go forth [into the homeless life of a religious mendicant]."

The humorous touch here is that Bhavila, mistaking the exaltation of faith and the dissatisfaction with worldly life for the exhaustion of travel, raises the issue of marriage just as Pūrṇa has made a committment to renouncing the world.

Although Bhavila cannot really comprehend his brother's wish to take up the religious life, neither does he stand in his way. As for Pūrṇa, ever the dutiful son and younger brother, he seeks Bhavila's permission before he is willing to act on his intention.

It is after his parting advice to Bhavila, where in one brief paragraph he changes from obedient younger brother to world-weary counsellor, that Pūrṇa truly 'goes forth,' never to live again as a householder. As did Prince Siddhārtha when he fled the palace, Pūrṇa takes with him a single servant who is not mentioned again after he delivers his master's message to Anāthapiṇḍada, just as Candaka, Siddhārtha's charioteer, plays no further role after he takes his master's horse back to Kapilavastu and informs the family.

Karmic factors notwithstanding, this third stage incorporates psychological realism into the portrayal of Pūrṇa's developing spiritual awareness. Pūrṇa leaves Sūrpāraka for Anāthapiṇḍada's home in Śrāvastī, but as a merchant (p. 59):

> The messenger went and said to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada, "Householder, the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, who is staying in a park [in Śrāvastī], wishes to see the master of the house."
>
> Anāthapiṇḍada reflected, "It must be that he is tired of ocean-travel and has now come [trading] overland." So he asked, "Good fellow, has Pūrṇa brought a great

quantity of trade-goods?"

The messenger replied, "How would he have trade-goods? But for one manservant, he has come alone. There's just he and I."

Pūrṇa's mind is made up, yet it would seem that he is not confident enough of his decision to go forth to reveal it to anyone. Only after he accepts Anāthapiṇḍada's hospitality and is addressed by his host as "caravan-leader" does he reveal his true intentions (p. 59):

"Householder, I desire to receive the lower and higher ordinations and become a monk in accordance with the Doctrine and Discipline which are so well expounded."

Pūrṇa's visit to Anāthapiṇḍada is the last hurdle. At the very entrance to the religious life, he can still chose to remain a householder. Anāthapiṇḍada himself embodies that choice, for he is at once devout upāsaka, great patron of the Saṅgha and a businessman of enormous wealth and influence. To be sure, his patronage, if not his committment to the Three Jewels, depends upon his profits. Anāthapiṇḍada and the other merchants from Śrāvastī demonstrate that one can be a serious disciple of the Buddha while remaining 'in the world' as a householder. Indeed, Anāthapiṇḍada at first thinks Pūrṇa has come to Śrāvastī to see him as a fellow trader, perhaps with a business proposition. And he is of course a most suitable business associate as well as the perfect sponsor for Pūrṇa's ordination.

The stages of Pūrṇa's transformation are also reflected in diction. From the merchants of Śrāvastī, he hears the Word of the Buddha (buddhavacana). In asking Bhavila for permission to take up the religious life, he utilizes the stock canonical formula, "'go forth [into the homeless life of a religious mendicant]'" (p. 58). With Anāthapiṇḍada he uses the canonical idiom for requesting ordination as a Buddhist monk (p. 59). In fact, as we enter into the second part of the story and the narrative shifts to scenes of conversion, religious devotion and the 'glorious deeds' of Pūrṇa and the Buddha, formulaic expressions and passages from the canonical literature become increasingly prominent. In the present scene, Anāthapiṇḍada responds to Pūrṇa's request for ordination with the solemn exultation – the technical term for which is udāna – which denotes an event of profound religious significance (p. 59):

"Ah, the Buddha! Ah, the Dharma! Ah, the Saṅgha! Justly celebrated are they! For now such eminent men as this are leaving behind all their relatives, both close and distant, as well as their rich treasuries and warehouses, and seeking to receive the lower and higher ordinations, to become monks, in accordance with the Doctrine and Discipline which are so well expounded.

Dialogue couched in such diction necessarily brings to mind analogous scenes of ordination in the canonical literature and elsewhere in the tradition.

The fourth stage marks the end of this transitional period. In presenting Pūrṇa to the Buddha and in speaking on his behalf, Anāthapiṇḍada continues to mediate between the

merchant and the monks right up until last time that the narrator refers to Pūrṇa by his secular title, which is of course when the Buddha ordains Purna by addressing him for the first time as 'monk' (bhikṣu [p. 60]):

> The Lord indicated his consent to [the request of] the householder Anāthapiṇḍada by remaining silent. Then the Lord summoned the caravan-leader Pūrṇa: "Come, monk, practise the holy life."

With these words, Pūrṇa is, quite literally, transformed, and our story enters into a new phase (p. 60):

> As soon as the Lord had uttered these words, Pūrṇa was transformed: shaven-headed he became, clad in monastic robes, almsbowl and water-pot in his hands, with a [mere] week's growth of hair and beard and the perfect deportment of a monk of a hundred years' standing.
>
> Again told, "Come," by the Tathāgata, he, shaven-head and body enfolded in monastic robes, instantly attained tranquillity of the senses and thus remained by the will of the Buddha.

We here emerge from the relative verisimilitude of a tale about a merchant's bastard son's rise to fame and fortune into that world transformed by the Lord Buddha and his Dharma; the folk-tale world of Pūrṇa and his brothers is taken up into and transfigured by a world of religious devotion, meditative concentration, flying monks, spiritual heroism, interplanetary travel and extraordinary demonstrations of psychic powers. While all these features may be found throughout popular Indian story-literature,[25] notable here is that plot structure, diction and dialogue converge to heighten the drama of events through which the power of the Buddha begins to transform Pūrṇa and his world. The story martials a number of resources to highlight the event and experience of conversion, one of the central human experiences with which it is concerned.

Just as Pūrṇa's ordination recalls similar episodes in the avadāna and canonical literature, it functions as a 'type-scene,' a model, for the ordination of the five hundred ṛṣis and of the sage Vakkalin (pp. 73–75). In these two scenes, virtually the same prose-and-verse passage which establishes Pūrṇa's ordination effects the miraculous transformation from non-Buddhist ascetic to Buddhist bhikṣu. At the same time, while each of these episodes utilizes a version of this 'ordination' type-scene, each also presents different thematic particulars.

At the time of his ordination, for all intents and purposes Pūrṇa is already a lay-disciple of the Buddha: although he has not formally 'gone for refuge,' he has for some time already 'borne the Buddha in his heart' (p. 58). For Pūrṇa, conversion precedes ordination; the two events are respectively the first and last points in one arc of the trajectory which shall carry him to the further shore of the 'great ocean' of existence.

By contrast, the other two ordination-scenes are the climactic moments in episodes that form parts of a semi-independent narrative which glorifies the Buddha's skilfulness in educating and thereby converting a variety of groups and individuals, which in turn

anticipates the Buddha's 'grand conversion' at Sūrpāraka (pp. 75–76). In the episode of the five hundred ṛṣis the Buddha provides the spiritual corrective to the non-Buddhist ascetical tradition: through his wonderworking powers and inspiring presence, the corruptions of pride and disrespect for others give way to faith in the Awakened One and the earnest wish to go forth as ascetics under the Doctrine and Discipline (pp. 73–74).

Like the five hundred, Vakkalin is already a renunciate, a religious professional, but unlike the former, he is already on the right path and needs only the sight of the glorious Lord to so transport him "with faith arisen" that, oblivious of external reality, he leaps off the mountain in order to get closer to the object of his devotion. Here, rather than serving to chastise the worldly who masquerade as true spiritual heroes, the Buddha employs his psychic powers to protect one whose surging devotion has placed him in physical danger (pp. 74–75).

Together with the Buddha's other conversions on his way from Śrāvastī to Sūrpāraka, these give us the Buddha in action, add a few tiles to the resplendent mosaic of the Lord's mission. This is the Buddha as Dharma-teacher and charismatic wonderworker; our story represents the Buddha as instructor of monks in the 'Pūrṇāvavāda Sūtra,' a dialogue common to Theravādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin traditions. A Mahāyāna monk of Mūlasarvāstivādin ordination lineage might well regard these as depicting the Buddha's 'skill-in-means' (upāyakauśalya): once he has intuited that "the time [is] ripe for their spiritual training," the Lord knows and applies exactly the method of instruction suitable for each individual or community. The idea, if not the technical term, is illustrated by a stock passage which is repeated, with insignificant variants, on the occasion of each one of the Buddha's several conversions (pp. 71, 72, 73, 75):

> Knowing her mental disposition, character and circumstances, the Lord imparted to her such instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths that, listening to it, the goddess, shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous belief in a permanently existent self, attained the fruit of Entrance into the Stream.

We shall have further occasion to discuss the Buddha's conversions on the way to Sūrpāraka, but for now return to the point in the narrative immediately after the verse which describe Pūrṇa's transformation into a monk.

The Discourse on the Exhortation of Pūrṇa

The aforementioned verse states that Pūrṇa "instantly attained tranquillity of the senses and thus remained by the will of the Buddha" (p. 60) – that is, through exercise of the Buddha's psychic powers. Although the next episode occurs "some time later," the narrator's notice of this event is still fresh in the mind of the audience as the 'Pūrṇāvavāda Sūtra' unfolds. Having been treated to a taste of higher consciousness through this external agency, Pūrṇa now receives personal instruction from the Buddha in restraint of the senses. To adapt the old Chinese proverb, the Buddha has given Pūrṇa a

fish and now, at Pūrṇa's request, he's going to teach him to fish for himself. Here 'fishing' stands for the mental cultivation that begins with freeing awareness from dependence upon the senses and ends with Awakening.

As we have seen (pp. 14–16, 60–63), the description of Pūrṇa's instruction by the Buddha and the subsequent account of the former's return to Śroṇāparāntaka (pp. 63ff) are in fact Mūlasarvāstivādin recensions of the better-known Theravādin texts, the Puṇṇovāda-sutta and Puṇṇa-sutta.[26] While the second half of the Pūrṇāvadāna abounds in stereotyped phrases and passages taken from canonical sources, this episode, placed squarely in the middle of the narrative, functions as its 'canonical core,' validating, for readers mindful of the scriptural tradition, the story as a whole. And in terms of textual history, this sūtra bears the same relation to the rest of the Pūrṇāvadāna as the Pāli Puṇṇovāda-sutta does to the Puṇṇovādasutta-vaṇṇanā, its commentary.[27]

However, what is important for our purposes is that this episode, taken more or less verbatim from the canon, functions as an integral part of the narrative. The dialogue naturally divides into two parts: in the first (pp. 60–62), Pūrṇa receives instruction in non-attachment to sensory experience as a primary method of attaining Nirvāṇa; in the second (pp. 62–63), the Buddha tests the extent to which his disciple has developed the quality of patient forebearance (kṣānti) and finding this sufficiently well developed, permits him to return from Śrāvastī to his native land, where his success as a missionary is dramatized (pp. 63–64).

We may infer that at the time of his interview with the Buddha, Pūrṇa has been training in accordance with the Doctrine and the Discipline for some time. That he considers himself ready for a comprehensive teaching that will enable him to attain to the highest goal (arhatship) is made clear in his initial address to his teacher (p. 60):

> "Well would it be for me if the Lord were to concisely expound the Dharma such that, having heard from the Lord the Dharma thus concisely expounded, I might abide alone, secluded, attentive, ardent, and self-controlled. That for the sake of which sons of good family cut off hair and beard, don yellow garments and with right faith go forth from home into homelessness – in this very life and by my own efforts may I know, realize and attain that supreme end of the holy life and go forth to [that which is expressed by] 'Exhausted for me is birth, accomplished the course of the holy life; what was to be done has been done; I will know no birth beyond this one'."

That the Buddha concurs with Pūrṇa's estimation of his own readiness is shown by his approving reiteration of the entire formula (pp. 60–61).

At the time of the ordination, through his own spiritual power the Buddha imparts to Pūrṇa the experience of freedom from bondage to sensory experience. Now that Pūrṇa has matured, through disciplined living, this new mode of experiencing, the Buddha explains the dynamics and effects of bondage and why it must be overcome. In terms of the tripartate schema of moral cultivation, meditative concentration and understanding (śīla, samādhi and prajñā) which comprise spiritual development, 'right understanding' completes and is made possible by meditation and moral discipline. One is sustained in

this arduous discipline by faith or confidence (śraddhā) in the Buddha and his Dharma. As we have seen, Pūrṇa first conceives this faith when he hears the merchants from Śrāvastī chanting Buddhist scripture. His emotional and aesthetic response leads to the arising of faith. The next step, Pūrṇa's ordination, is the formal dramatization of total commitment. The ordination-scene lacks the spontaneous emotional intensity of the conversion-scene. What it does solemnly communicate is the momentous and radical change in status – the adoption of a new identity and membership in a new community. All Pūrṇa's energies are now channelled into spiritual exertion.

Pūrṇa is now ready to put theory into practice. And having been so certified by the Buddha (p. 63), he is approved as not only able to continue in his self-development without recourse to the Teacher, but as sufficiently realized to be able to teach others. At the conclusion of his interview with the Master, Pūrṇa emerges as the Dharma-preacher who will later be so instrumental in the conversion and spiritual illumination of "many hundreds of thousands of living beings" (pp. 75–76).

Before further discussing the second part of this discourse, it is appropriate to look a little more closely at the actual instruction which the Buddha imparts to Pūrṇa.[28]

Pūrṇa has asked how he "might abide, alone, secluded, attentive, ardent and self-controlled" (p. 60). It is clear that he knows – or at least is confident – that this is the way to Awakening. Pūrṇa's request for instruction, and the Buddha's discourse which responds to it, employ common canonical formulas which, in a few phrases, encapsulate or imply the lifestyle and spiritual practice characteristic of the ascetical, forest-dwelling monk who makes mental training ('meditation') and the quest for liberation his primary discipline. As Reginald Ray[29] has recently documented in great detail, this is a lifestyle and practice very different from those of the monastery-dwelling monk whose activities focus on pastoral care and scriptural preservation, transmission and exegesis.

Central to the Buddha's teaching is that duḥkha, suffering, arises from tṛṣṇā, craving, of all kinds, especially for pleasurable sensory experience, and that craving is in turn dependent upon avidyā, ignorance [of the true nature of things and of the Buddha's teaching]. As the Buddha tells the Brahmin Mettagū in one of the earliest stratum of the canonical literature, "'[A]ll the different formš of suffering develop from the basie clinging'."[30]

> "In every direction there are things you know and recognize, above, below, around and within. Leave them: do not look to them for rest or relief, do not let consciousness dwell on the products of existence, on things that come and go."

This is the fundamental message: non-attachment, non-identification of oneself with any aspect of physical or psychic experience. With specific reference to the inherent danger in pleasure associated with objects of the senses, the Buddha delivers to Pūrṇa essentially the same message (pp. 61–62: four times with slight variations):

> "There are, Pūrṇa, forms; perceptible to the eye which are desirable, agreeable, pleasing, captivating, connected with sensual pleasure and which arouse desire. And

if a monk, seeing such forms, approves them, welcomes them, clings to and continues clinging to them, then, as a result of approving, welcoming, clinging to and continuing to cling to them, enjoyment arises. With enjoyment comes the satisfaction of enjoyment. When there is the satisfaction of enjoyment, passion arises. When there is passion for enjoyment, bondage to passion for enjoyment arises. Pūrṇa, a monk in bondage to passion for enjoyment is said to be far from Nirvāṇa."

The Buddha repeats this with reference to "sounds perceptible to the ear, smells perceptible to the nose, flavours perceptible to the tongue, tactile objects perceptible to the body, thoughts perceptible to the mind," each ending with the same, negative refrain, then twice more with a positive conclusion: "'But, Pūrṇa, it is said by the virtuous that a monk not in bondage to passion for enjoyment is near to Nirvāṇa'" (pp. 61–62).

It is the innate human tendency to seek out, to maximize pleasurable experience and to avoid, to minimize unpleasant experience. One achieves liberation (mokṣa) from the cycle of birth-and-death (bhava, saṃsāra) – that is, Nirvāṇa – only by refusing to be controlled by this instinct, only when one overcomes this identification with the data of one's experience. The monk who manages this no longer superimposes upon experience his personal complex of hopes, wishes and fears: he experiences things 'just as they are' (yathābhūtam), and this is the basis of Awakening, of Nirvāṇa. The goal of Buddhist meditation is the 'establishment of mindfulness' (smṛtyupasthāna; Pāli satipaṭṭhāna), which involves training oneself not to become attached to or repelled by the experience of the six senses, but rather simply to be aware of it. In the Pāli dialogues, the locus classicus for this teaching is the Greater Discourse on the Foundation of Mindfulness,[31] where the Buddha declares that proper cultivation of mindfulness of the body, feelings, mind and mind-objects is the "one way to the purification of beings, for the overcoming of sorrow and distress, for the disappearance of pain and sadness, for the gaining of the right path, for the realisation of Nibbāna...."

In our passage, mindfulness (smṛti) is nowhere explicitly mentioned, but it is the inescapable allusion. In this sense, the Buddha's instruction, for all its repetitiveness, is, as Pūrṇa requests, "concisely expounded," for it implies a number of doctrines not expressly stated and, in terms of mental discipline, represents the essential core of the Dharma.

In form, the Buddha's instruction is a via negativa; that is, he explains the consequences of failing to establish mindfulness – such a person "is said to be far from Nirvāṇa." One who overcomes such bondage "is said to be close to Nirvāna." Etymologically, nirvāṇa means 'blown out,' 'cooled' or 'extinguished',[32] as fire by wind. Traditionally, this is glossed as the blowing out or extinguishing of the Three Fires of craving, enmity and delusion (tṛṣṇā, dveṣa, moha) – clearly just the opposite to the bondage which the Buddha describes. It is this clinging and the resultant bondage that produces and sustains the delusion of a permanent or real 'self' (satkāyadṛṣṭi),[33] itself the eye around which the cyclone of craving swirls and, just as when mindfulness is properly established, bondage is cut off, so when bondage is severed, the delusion of self, with nothing to sustain it, eventually disappears. Nirvāṇa may strike us as the most rarefied of

abstractions and indeed generations of traditional and modern scholars have exercised themselves in explaining it – often in quite incommensurate ways.[34] Nevertheless, in this passage the Buddha discusses not Nirvāṇa, the supreme goal, but, in terms of the empirical data of everyday experience, the training by which it may be realized.

By considering this exposition of Buddhist psychology simply as one example of how the Buddha's teaching is presented in the text, we can begin to evaluate its function in the narrative from a larger perspective. Although it is not the only locus of doctrine in the Pūrṇāvadāna, it is the one instance of any developed presentation of the Buddha's central teaching. And since it portrays the Buddha's detailed instructions to a monk, it is appropriate that at this juncture in the narrative a sūtra be lifted en bloc from the canon. It is only logical that a monk who is to develop into one of the luminaries of the tradition be depicted as having been properly instructed by the Master himself. On the other hand, Pūrṇa's lesson in 'guarding the doors of the senses' is only one of a number of occasions on which the Buddha preaches the Doctrine, for in the author's efforts to present a completely-realized world subsequently transformed by the Dharma, other teachings are offered which are appropriate to the several characters with which the story is concerned. Yet in each instance the narrator alludes to rather than describes these teachings with the formulaic phrases "instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths" and "shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous belief in a permanently existent self." In these other episodes it is the result rather than the process of such teaching that is important: the goddess from the Jeta Grove overcomes said "erroneous belief" (satkāyadṛṣṭi), attains the "fruit of entrance into the stream" and later, rapt with devotion to the Lord, remains at the Matrons' Stūpa worshipping (pp. 71–72). The five hundred matrons similarly become 'stream-enterers' and with the Buddha's hair and fingernails as holy relics, construct the aforementioned stūpa (p. 72). Similarly, the five hundred Brahmanical ascetics relinquish their pride, attain the "fruit of a Non-Returner," develop psychic powers and take ordination (pp. 73–74), while the sage Vakkalin, a true bhaktin, attains the same fruits (p. 75). For their part, the two serpent-kings, Krsṇa and Gautamaka, are inspired to go for refuge to the Three Jewels and accept the minimum moral precepts binding on Buddhist laity (p. 77).

Even the spiritual development of the hunter, Pūrṇa's first convert, is presented schematically and without detail:

> He then received instruction in the Dharma from the Venerable Pūrṇa and was thereby established in going for refuge [to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha] and in the [five] moral precepts (p. 64).

To recapitulate: except for the Buddha's exhortation of Pūrṇa, all the scenes of religious instruction in the Pūrṇāvadāna, including the Buddha's 'grand conversion' at Sūrpāraka (pp. 75–76) and, on another planet, the instruction of Maudgalyāyana's mother (pp. 78–79), allude to rather than expound doctrine. This is another reason for placing an entire sūtra largely concerned with mental cultivation at the centre of the story: its detail, or some variant thereof, is in some sense implied in each conversion-scene, enabling the

author, in these numerous other episodes, to highlight the drama of conversion, its awesome consequences, and the glory of the teacher. Indeed, full-scale presentations of the Buddha's teaching in each of nine scenes of religious instruction would seriously compromise our text's primary, narrative function by the continual intrusion of abstract expositions. One supposes that the author well knew that only a minority of Buddhist – lay or ordained – would be interested in or benefit from detailed doctrinal exposition and that those so inclined could always consult canonical or philosophical sources. The storyteller has a different kind of job to do.

In both the canonical accounts and the independent 'Lives,' we read that the Buddha directed the first sixty arhats to travel alone and far and wide in order to preach the Dharma. In our text, having concluded his discourse on non-attachment to sensory experience, the Buddha similarly directs Pūrṇa (p. 62):

> "This, Pūrṇa, is the concise exposition by which I exhort you. Now, where do you wish to live? Where do you wish to make your home?"
>
> "Venerable, [thus] exhorted by the Lord by means of this concise exposition, I wish to live among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, to make my home among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka."

The Buddha's question is at once an acknowledgement of Pūrṇa's readiness to teach and a means of testing whether he is sufficiently spiritually advanced to cope with the rigours of missionary work, i.e., whether he has integrated into his own understanding the proper attitude a monk should take toward experience mediated by the senses. When, in replying to the question, Pūrṇa indicates he intends to return to his native land to spread the Dharma there, the Buddha tests his mettle by holding out the prospect of a "graduated scale of ill-treatment"[35] designed to graphically illustrate to the prospective missionary what may lie in store for him (pp. 62–63). Pūrṇa passes with flying colours this (admittedly theoretical) test of 'patient forebearance' (kṣānti) based on non-attachment, regarding even the prospect of violent death at the hands of those whom he would benefit as a relatively painless way of being liberated "from this stinking carcass" (p. 63). The Buddha approves and, exhorting his disciple to strive both for his own Awakening and that of others, sends him on his way.

It is not a concern of the present study to explicitly compare different versions of the Pūrṇa-legend. Nevertheless, we do not meander too widely from our course if, by comparing Pūrṇa's missionary activities in Śroṇāparāntaka to the Pāli canonical accounts, we examine one example of how the literary imagination develops traditional materiāls. The two Pāli suttas are virtually identical; here I refer to the account preserved in the Majjhima-nikāya.[36] Having brought Puṇṇa (Skt. Pūrṇa) to Sunāparanta (Skt. Śroṇāparāntaka), the narrator continues:

> Then, during the Rains, the venerable Puṇṇa established five hundred men lay followers and five hundred women lay followers in the practice, and he himself realised the three true knowledges. On a later occasion, the venerable Puṇṇa

attained final Nibbāna.[37]

The avadāna – but not the Theravādin commentaries – expands, concretizes, dramatizes these events. The conversions, merely statistics in the canonical account, in our text come alive, complete with dialogue and verse. Pūrṇa is spotted by a hunter who, dismayed at the "inauspicious" sight of "this shaven-headed ascetic," is about to transfix him with an arrow (pp. 63–64):

> The Venerable Pūrṇa saw him. Seeing him, he lifted up his outer robe, and declared, "Good sir, I have come here for the sake of this one who is never satisfied. Strike me here." And he recited this verse:
>
> "For the sake of which birds and wild animals are caught in snares and nets, and men bearing arrows, swords and spears forever perish in battle;
>
> "For the sake of which those wretched dwellers in darkness, the pitiful fish, swallow the hook – it is for the sake of this belly that I have come from afar to this cesspool of wickedness."
>
> The hunter reflected, "This renunciate possesses such forebearance and compassion!," and thinking [further], "Why should I attack him?," became well-disposed toward Pūrṇa. He then received instruction in the Dharma from the Venerable Pūrṇa and was thereby established in going for refuge [to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha] and in the [five] moral precepts….

This of course vividly dramatizes just what the Buddha's hypothetical questions had been designed to test. The solitary monk, sworn to non-harming and selfless forebearance, encounters one whose livelihood depends upon the taking of life – what greater test for a Buddhist missionary? In addition, the author places in Pūrṇa's mouth verses which again refer to the fundamental human compulsion to which the Teaching addresses itself – craving. As elsewhere does the technical term tṛṣṇā, here "belly" (udara) stands for the craving which mires us all in suffering and repeated birth. That the noun which is the subject of the verse is only specified toward the end of the second stanza heightens the force of Pūrṇa's declamation: one is meant to visualize the hunter, bow-string drawn taut against his ear, frozen in wonderment at this strange figure who, rather than flee or beg for mercy, unhurriedly declaims verse.

As pointed out in the translation,[38] while in the Pāli suttas and in the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama it is clear that Pūrṇa attains Awakening during the course of his missionary activities,[39] the Divyāvadāna recension of the legend can be understood to mean that either the hunter or Pūrṇa attains Awakening. Although my guess is that the three canonical accounts preserve the original sense, I am inclined to side with the interpretation of Kṣemendra, who has both Pūrṇa and his student attain arhatship: an account of the protagonist's attainment of Awakening is essential in any Buddhist saint's biography; at the same time, ascribing to the hunter the supreme spiritual attainment of course further glorifies Pūrṇa as Dharma-teacher.

The avadāna's expanded account of Pūrṇa's preaching activities in his native land

portrays him for the first time as 'spiritual hero': the same man who will later (p. 66) fly across the ocean and turn back a hurricane; whose devotional intensity (p. 68) will propel his ritual offerings halfway across India; whose energy and charisma will be instrumental in bringing the Lord to his homeland to illuminate the multitudes with the radiance of the Dharma.

One of the more striking differences between the Pūrṇāvadāna and all other accounts of Pūrṇa's return to Śroṇāparāntaka is that, in these latter, Pūrṇa attains final Nirvāṇa, which is to say he dies. Both Pāli suttas conclude with the Buddha explaining to the monks that Puṇṇa "has passed finally away" (parinibbāyi), a synonym for 'has attained final Nirvāṇa'. The Saṃyuktāgama version concludes with Pūrṇa entering "Nirvāṇa without remaining substrate" (nirupadhiśeṣa-nirvāṇa), also synonymous with 'final Nirvāṇa' (parinirvāṇa).[40] Puṇṇa's death is also mentioned in the commentaries on the Puṇṇovāda-sutta and Puṇṇa-theragāthā,[41] with the latter going so far as to deseribe Puṇṇa's funeral ceremonies. Accordingly, when, at the conclusion of the Puṇṇovāda-sutta, the monks question the Buddha about Puṇṇa, they wish to know his postmortum 'destiny'. By contrast, in the avadāna, at the conclusion of the narrative of Pūrṇa's present life, the monks question the Buddha about Pūrṇa's deeds in previous births, the karmic antecedents to the events in his present life. Since, like the Pūrṇāvadāna, the Chinese translation of the Pūrṇāvavāda-sūtra most likely derives from a Mūlasarvāstivādin recension of the text, it is not unreasonable to assume that the author/redactor of the avadāna was aware of the canonical account of Pūrṇa's death, but chose to conclude his narrative – and therefore leave his audience – with an image of Pūrṇa at the peak of his spiritual power and religious influence.

The narrative now reconnects Pūrṇa's story to that of his family: having followed Pūrṇa's progress from precocious bastard son to successful trader, to international business tycoon, to lay-devotee, to novice monk, to successful missionary and arhat, we again take up the story of Bhava's sons.

The attempt by Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin to seduce Bhavila into sharing his wealth with them has already been examined in terms of the 'theme of family unity'. What is to be noted here is that the two brothers' underhanded attempt to reunite the family (minus Pūrṇa) on their own terms indirectly sets the stage for the action of the remainder of the story. Bhavila, pride wounded from his brothers' taunts, sails to the Yellow Sandalwood Forest, where the sequence of events that will bring Pūrṇa to the rescue is set in motion (pp. 65–66). Not only does Pūrṇa's succour bring five hundred more men and their families to faith in the Dharma (through faith in Pūrṇa [p. 67]), but it provides Pūrṇa with both the raw material and the inspiration for the construction and donation of the Sandalwood Pavilion (p. 67).

> "With this yellow sandalwood I shall build for the use of the Lord a grand edifice – 'The Sandalwood Pavilion'."

The construction of the pavilion also marks the occasion for the invitation of the Buddha himself to conseerate it by his presence, which in turn makes possible the Buddha's

several conversions on the way from Śrāvastī to Sūrpāraka as well as the 'miracle of the crystal pavilion' (pp. 75–76) and the climactic conversion of the entire population of the city (p. 76). When we recall that a slave-girl's bastard can become a great sārthavāha and, later, arhat and that the humiliating dispossession of Bhavila's family gives way immediately to Pūrṇa's first, crucial success as an independent trader, a question arises, although one that cannot be resolved within the narrow limits of this study. Are such apparent 'reversals of fortune' – weal arising phoenix-like from the ashes of woe – no more than that, the fickleness of Lakṣmī (goddess of wealth and fortune), the unpredictability of destiny? Or may one infer some causality of human moral action in some way expressive of the doctrine of karma?

To be sure, in the Pūrṇāvadāna, the monks question the Buddha only about the effects that deeds in previous births may have had in Pūrṇa's present (and final) birth, and the Master's story of the past deals exclusively with inter- rather than intra-life karmic causality. Moreover, this is characteristic of most jātakas and avadānas. Yet for all that, in a sutta preserved in the Theravādin canon, The Greater Discourse on the Analysis of Karma (Mahākammavib-haṅga-sutta), the Buddha states repeatedly that one may experience the result of an action "either here and now, or in his next rebirth, or in some subsequent rebirth."[42] Of course one cannot assume the conception of karma in the avadānas to conform to that articulated in one particular sūtra which itself may or may not be representative. Further research would be needed on this point alone. At the same time, the literary critic is hard pressed not to discern a causal linkage in this striking concatenation of events. Again, the resolution of such a question would require a study of narrative patterns in a wide range of avadānas as well as a consideration of the various presentations of the doctrine of karma in both canonical and commentarial literature. For now, having raised the question, I pass on.

Bhavila's Rescue and Intimations of a Pūrṇa-Cult

We have already considered Pūrṇa's conversion of the hunter as the first episode in which he figures as a great Dharma-teacher, a nascent spiritual hero. This theme rapidly becomes one of the foci of the story. In the 'sandalwood forest episode' (pp. 65–67), one detects the emergence of a Pūrṇa-cult as the first stage in the coming of the Dharma to Śroṇāparāntaka.

In defending the sovereignty of the universal monarch (cakravartin) for whose use the forest is maintained, the yakṣa Maheśvara[43] responds to the depredations of Bhavila's woodcutters by unleashing "an enormous and fearsome hurricane" (p. 65). The scene is then instantly transformed from the leisurely harvest of easy riches to abject terror before an imminent and ineluctable violent death. At first, the merchants invoke various gods of the Brahmanical tradition – but to no avail. However, we must infer that sińce his return to Śroṇāparāntaka, Pūrṇa has made a very favourable impression on a considerable number of people, for when the merchants learn from Bhavila that Pūrṇa is his brother, hope is at once rekindled (p. 66):

The merchants said, "Sirs, that very one, the holy Pūrṇa, he is a great man by reason of his merit! Let us go for refuge to that very man!" Then all those merchants cried out with one voice, "Reverence to him, the holy Pūrṇa! Reverence, reverence to him, the holy Pūrṇa!"

We note in passing that the concept of Awakening – although not necessarily the term – as an intuitive insight by which one is liberated from saṃsāra was a pan-Indian doctrine and not confined to Buddhist ideology. The merchants appear to be aware of Pūrṇa's reputation as a great sage. One can interpret their invocation of him in this passage as no more than this. However, once they are in fact rescued by Pūrṇa's exercise of psychic powers, "those merchants, having recovered their lives, became filled with faith in the Venerable Pūrṇa" (p. 67).

Nevertheless, we learn here both of Pūrṇa's burgeoning reputation among his fellow Sūrpārakans and of his most dramatic feat to date in the service of the Dharma. Nor ought we to overlook the fact that the merchants "became filled with faith" in Pūrṇa – not as it might have been put, in the Buddha or the Dharma. For although the text mentions no cult of venerating Pūrṇa, as its title indicates, the story glorifies Sūrpāraka's favorite native son and, by extension, validates the Teacher and the Teaching he brings to his native city.

A number of other incidents successively contribute to Pūrṇa's status as the spiritual hero of Sūrpāraka. Pūrṇa is the mastermind behind the construction of the Sandalwood Pavilion, the beauty of which the king of Sūrpāraka, as if voicing the approbation of the entire populace, heartily commends (p. 67). More importantly, Pūrṇa's rooftop pūjā (p. 68), functions as the agency by which the Lord Buddha is invited to inaugurate the Pavilion. Pūrṇa himself does instruct his brothers to invite the Buddha and his monks to accept alms in Sūrpāraka and they in turn secure the king's whole-hearted cooperation (p. 68), but, with the Buddha half a continent away in Śrāvastī, only Pūrṇa can actually transmit the invitation. The king's role is largely confined to managing the physical preparations (p. 70) and, as reigning sovereign, being on hand to formally greet the Master.

Pūrṇa's invitation is a devotional ritual of a type performed by Buddhists and Hindus even today, one which dramatizes the power which such rituāls are believed to harness. It qualifies as one of Pūrṇa's 'glorious deeds' while at the same time functioning as a model for the audience when, with a pure heart, one of them might wish to "obtain a boon" (p. 68). Yet a boon cannot be gratuitious, and Pūrṇa's verse, at once an invitation to his teacher and the invocation of a divine figure, also contains an explanation: "Behold those beings who are without a protector, O Great One! Exercise compassion and come to this place!" (p. 68).

All beneficent spiritual powers – "the awakened power of the Buddhas and the divine power of the gods" – respond to Pūrṇa's ardent devotion and to the merit of his request. The result is that Pūrṇa's ritual offerings – flowers, incense and water – are transported to the Jeta Grove, the site of the Buddha's residence in Śrāvastī, where he interprets their meaning for his attendant Ānanda. In no time (p. 68), Ānanda is handing out meal-tickets

to those monks whose psychic powers enable them to travel the one hundred league (yojana) distance by the next day.

One other observation is also important here. In order to acquire construction materials suitable for his building project, Pūrṇa has given the merchants jewels in exchange for their cargo of ox-head sandalwood. What, we may ask, is a Buddhist monk doing with gemstones, let alone enough of them to purchase a shipload of sandalwood one small piece of which is worth a hundred thousand gold coins? The Vinayas, as we have them, prohibit monks and nuns from owning personal property. In any case, unlike the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā account, where Puṇṇa, refusing a share of the sandalwood, merely advises the merchants to construct the pavilion, here Pūrṇa purchases the sandalwood with jewels, superintends the construction of the Pavilion and then donates it to the Buddha and the Order. This looks very much like a paradigmatic literary account of what we find attested in both canonical texts and inscriptions – that Buddhist monks and nuns possessed (or controlled, which amounts to the same thing) considerable wealth which they used to make material donations to the Saṅgha.[44] That this was a quite unexceptional practice is suggested by a passage in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, where that "a monk wants to present a park to the community of monks from the four directions" attracts no comment whatever.[45] The point of the passage is simply to indicate that such a circumstance not only authorized, but required other monks to break the rains-retreat in order to participate in the ritual of donation.

The Elder Pūrṇa Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka

One of the first monks who goes to take a food-ticket (pp. 68–69) is another 'Venerable Pūrṇa,' whom the narrator distinguishes from the hero of our tale (who remains in Sūrpāraka) by means of an epithet, "He Who Uses a Water-Pot as a Pillow" (kuṇḍopadhānīyaka), a term which may be intended to indicate the rigour of his ascetic practice,[46] and possibly also by the title, 'Elder' (sthavira), a term which the Pūrṇāvadāna nowhere applies to Pūrṇa of Sūrpāraka. This 'other' Pūrṇa is the first of a series of individuāls who achieve spiritual growth as a result of Pūrṇa inviting the Buddha to Sūrpāraka. As a sthavira, senior monk and a prajñāvimukta, one who has achieved arhatship through insight, Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka ranks high in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. However, since he has not developed the yogic (meditative) skills which alone confer psychic powers, Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka does not qualify for the expedition to Sūrpāraka, with all its potential for spreading the Dharma. Not surprisingly, arhats as much as the Buddha valued opportunities to proselytize and it is the prospect of being left behind in Śrāvastī that inspires this Elder to such profound yogic absorption that, instantaneously mastering the full range of supernormal powers, he stretches out his arm "as long as an elephant's trunk" to take the food-ticket that a moment before Ānanda, rather sarcastically, has denied him. We recall that the almost identical scene occurs in the Sumāgadhāvadāna. There, however, the invitation (Sumāgadhā's, not Pūrṇa's) produces even more dramatic results, for in this version, Pūrṇa Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka, who has only achieved 'Stream-

Entry' (śrotaāpanna), the first echelon of sanctity, through the agency of Pūrṇa's request is inspired to attain both the required psychic powers and arhatship itself.[47] Both versions recall other accounts of 'sudden enlightenment' provoked by events which in and of themselves are quite trivial.

To return to our protagonist, we thus find at least five episodes which portray Pūrṇa's 'glorious deeds' for the audience's edification and inspiration. The 'conversion of the hunter' portrays Pūrṇa as a fearless fellow whose physical courage rivals that of any martial hero and as a dramatically effective Dharma-teacher – and this even prior to his attaining arhatship. His rescue of Bhavila and Company demonstrates his great psychic powers and in conjunction with such feats, his willingness and ability to respond to the faithful in need. In addition, his pacification of the yakṣa Maheśvara (pp. 66–67) while more a glorification of the Buddha, also provides another example of his ability to calm the passionate.

Pūrṇa's construction and dedication of the Sandalwood Pavilion is impressive for two reasons. As befitting a man who in his secular career attained fame as a merchant-adventurer, a practical man-of-affairs, it depicts him not as an unworldly ascetic, but as an administrator initiating and managing a massive building-project. It also shows Pūrṇa to be, again, not just a spiritual master and religious teacher, but equally a munificent patron (mahādāyaka) and devotee (bhākta) in his own right.

The pūjā-scene portrays Pūrṇa as the perfect devotee of the Lord Buddha: such is the purity and intensity of his faith that it engages the great powers of the universe to facilitate the transmission of his message. From another perspective, Pūrṇa is here manifesting his own great spiritual powers: he, as much as the Buddha and the gods, accomplishes the teleportation of his devotional offerings.

And, lastly, the episode of the food-tickets, where Pūrṇa, a thousand miles away though he may be, is yet able, albeit indirectly, to benefit a fellow monk.

Considered as part of a larger pattern, these five episodes constitute Pūrṇa as at once paradigmatic Saint and Everyman. This is most striking. Pūrṇa is a great teacher, but also a humble devotee; an arhat, but still a capable man-of-affairs; a member of the Buddhist Order, but also one of its great patrons.[48] As a result, he is the perfect object for cultic devotion. Any type of individual can readily identify with Pūrṇa, be he or she unlettered farmer or wealthy merchant, reclusive practitioner of meditation or scholarly ecclesiastical officer; even, considering Pūrṇa's origins, slave or freeman. At the same time, Pūrṇa is an august and exalted figure, worthy of and commanding veneration, the bringer of salvation to his homeland. Only in his old age does the full implication of his father's intuition become manifest: he has truly become "a being who is great by reason of his merit."

However much our story glorifies Sūrpāraka's favorite native son, it does not exalt Pūrṇa as the expense of the Buddha. Master and disciple now combine forces to permanently establish the Dharma in Śroṇāparāntaka. Both Pūrṇa's 'glorious deeds,' discussed above, and the Buddha's feats of conversion, to be discussed below, form part of the claim of a place and a people, their legend, a validation of their local Buddhist tradition, a history of how the Lord Buddha's teaching came to be established in their country. For our purposes it does not matter whether the Pūrṇāvadāna is best described

as “historicized fiction” or “fictionalized history”.[49] It is a story. It chronicles how the Teaching was first introduced by a local businessman who had gone away to join the Buddhist Order and of the great feats he performed when he returned home, a living testimony to the truth of the Buddha’s message. It tells of the great pavilion built by that monk and of that marvellous day on which the Lord Buddha himself came to preach in the capital, his miraculous transformation of the pavilion, and of his momentous address to the people, at which the reigning king and thousands of his subjects set out on the Path to Awakening. This is the central thrust of the narrative and the core of Pūrṇa’s story. We may go so far as to presume that for many readers and auditors this dimension of the story was far more compelling than the message of the truth of the doctrine of karma, one which could be found in many other sources.

The theme of the transformation of Śroṇāparāntaka by the Dharma is introduced as early as the Buddha’s discourse to Pūrṇa (p. 62), where he repeatedly warns his disciple: “‘Pūrṇa, the people of Śroṇāparāntaka are fierce, violent, cruel, abusive, wrathful and contemptuous’.” Pūrṇa’s intention is to change all that and the Buddha thinks, or to be more precise, knows that the ex-entrepeneur can make a good start on it. Pūrṇa, then, lays the groundwork. Each of his ‘glorious deeds’ becomes not only episodes in a hagiography, but also successive stages in the Buddhist evangelization of Sroṇāparāntaka. Viewed in this way, Pūrṇa’s reference to the people of Sūrpāraka as “those who are without a protector (nātha)” (p. 68) takes on a deeper significance than I have specified. Pūrṇa is the apostie, the bearer of the ‘good news,’ has done much good work and has had some impact. But the Buddha, in a sense, is the good news: now the people, who have been so long without one, need a Lord (another possible translation for nātha, the theistic overtones of which are not inappropriate here). For his part, knowing that to win over the capital city, Sūrpāraka, which is “overrun with unbelievers” (p. 69), he must resort to extreme measures, the Buddha instruets his monks to make as spectacular an entrance as possible.[50]

The Buddha’s occupation of, and exposition of the Dharma at, the Sandalwood Pavilion is at once the climactic point of the story and the spiritual crescendo of Pūrṇa’s life; in terms of the narrative action at least as momentous as his attainment of arhatship. For Pūrṇa, Awakening, that ne plus ultra of the spiritual life, is less an end in itself than a means of bringing the Teaching to a wider audience – this is the ‘compassion for the many’ to which the Buddha exhorts the first sixty arhats. Pūrṇa’s story is not so much his own as that of an entire community.

The Sandalwood Pavilion itself is the product of a kind of community effort. The sandalwood was obtained as part of a worldly, commercial expedition. Pūrṇa’s rescue of the merchants transforms the fruit of mercantile ambition into an edifice that unites in itself the material substance of wealth and the spiritual ‘substance’ of devotion. As in other Buddhist accounts, that the king makes the city itself into a kind of ‘Pure Land’ (Sukhāvatī) in honour of the Buddha’s coming,[51] both guarantees and symbolizes the involvement of the entire community. Sūrpāraka’s supreme temporal authority acknowledges and welcomes the new spiritual authority.

The Buddha's 'Glorious Deeds' and the Sandalwood Pavilion

In the last third of the story, the Buddha, source of the Dharma, takes centre stage and Pūrṇa, his greatest work done, plays more a supporting role. First, the Buddha does not simply fly from Śrāvastī to Sūrpāraka, as did Pūrṇa from Sūrpāraka to the Sandalwood Forest. The author devotes almost a quarter of the narrative to moving the Buddha from the Jeta Grove Monastery to the Sandalwood Pavilion.

In the first half of this section (pp. 68–71), the narrative shifts between Sūrpāraka and Śrāvastī no less than six times, creating an alternation of perspective that is almost cinematic. We 'flash' from Pūrṇa's pūjā atop the Pavilion to his offerings appearing in the Jeta Grove; from Ānanda's distribution of the food-tickets to the king's ritual beautification of the city and the monks' breathtaking arrivals, "flying in by means of their psychic powers;" from additional, even more spectacular arrivals and the memorial verses of an awed lay-disciple to the Buddha's hieratic "perfumed chamber;" from the shaking of the earth "in six different ways" to the king's astonishment at this wonder; from Pūrṇa's explanation of this to the Buddha irradiating all of India with light; from the king's astonishment at this new wonder, and Pūrṇa's explanation, to the Buddha and his monks finally setting out for Sūrpāraka.

The atmosphere is palpable with rising awe, reverence and anticipation. The rapid shift between the source of this enormous spiritual power – the Lord in Śrāvastī – and the place at which he directs it – the city of Sūrpāraka – considerably intensifies the overall effect. The air thick with flying monks on marvellous mounts (p. 70), the entire sky aglow with golden light (p. 71), the very earth cavorting (p. 71) – all portend the end of the old Sūrpāraka and the advent of the new. In traditional terms, even mundane physical reality cannot help but mirror the magnitude of the impending spiritual revolution (for which Pūrṇa has been working all this time).

The narrative 'eye' now settles (pp. 71–75) on the Lord's measured, almost ritual progress from Srāvastī to Sūrpāraka. As we have already alluded to his conversions en route, these episodes need not be outlined here; however, additional comments are in order. As befitting his epithet, "teacher of gods and men," the Buddha interrupts his journey on a number of occasions to expound the Dharma to members of both classes of beings. As if to ensure maximal inclusiveness, the new converts include house-holders and renunciates, men and women, individuals and groups. So also their spiritual attainments: the five hundred matrons and the single goddess become fervent lay-disciples (upāsikās); both worship at the stūpa erected by the former; both "attain the fruit of Entrance into the Stream."[52] The five hundred ṛṣis overcome the pride that had obstructed their spiritual progress, enter the Buddhist Order and attain arhatship. The lone sage Vakkalin attains "the fruit of a Non-Returner",[53] gains psychic powers, receives ordination and is commended by the Buddha as "foremost among my monks who are devoted in their faith in me" (p. 75).

These episodes of conversion and spiritual attainment are replete with the stock descriptions and declarations which characterize the avadāna genre.[54] They are filled with displays of the Buddha's supernormal powers: his intuitive understanding of the

instruction appropriate in each case; his gift to the matrons of his hair and fingernails as relics (p. 72);[55] his desiccation of the sages' hermitage (p. 73); and his rescue of Vakkalin (pp. 74–75).[56] As if to further emphasize the point, the narrator assures us that the Lord continued, "performing, as he went, all manner of miraculous feats" (p. 75), until he reaches Sūrpāraka, where, we soon learn, more of the same occurs. As are Pūrṇa's and the monks', who are flying into the city, the Buddha's displays of psychic powers are the outward signs of spiritual attainment and authority, and are invariably instrumental in winning people over to the Dharma.

These four episodes, independent, if subsidiary, narratives in their own right, we may describe, perhaps a little irreverently, as 'warm-ups for the main event'. After the Buddha's great work at Sūrpāraka, his conversion of the two serpent-kings (pp. 76–77) and of Maudgalyāyana's now-reborn mother (pp. 78–80) perform analogous functions after the fact. Both episodes have close analogues in other sources[57] and both demonstrate that the Lord never ceases his compassionate activity.

The Buddha now enters Sūrpāraka. Ever mindful of the consequences of his actions, to avoid the appearance of showing favoritism to any one of the parties waiting at the numerous gates of the city (p. 70), he descends "from the sky right into the middle of Sūrpāraka City" (p. 75). Aware of the surging expectation and devotion below, he thereby prevents the eruption of any jealousy which might spoil the mood that his disciple has worked so hard to foster.

And now to the climactic scene to which the entire narrative has been building up. The narrator describes Pūrṇa's pūjā, the ritual by means of which he invites the Buddha to Sūrpāraka, as "worship in order to obtain a boon" (p. 68). The invitation is accepted, the boon granted, when the Buddha enters the city, occupies the Sandalwood Pavilion, delivers a discourse to the masses and shows special favour to Pūrṇa by accepting alms from his three brothers (pp. 76–77). Indirectly, these actions and their effect upon the inhabitants of Sūrpāraka are Pūrṇa's most 'glorious deed,' the fulfillment of his missionary efforts as well as the validation of the Buddhist tradition in Śroṇāparāntaka. All this we have already suggested. More specifically, these events constitute the beginning of the cultic worship of the Buddha by the king and people of Śroṇāparāntaka.

To more fully explain this and a number of other important events in the story, we must examine in some detail a complex of allusions which illuminate the nature and function of the Sandalwood Pavilion.

The Suttanipāta Commentary[58] identifies the Sandalwood Pavilion (candanamāḷa) as one of several residences (nivāsāgāra) occupied by the Buddha in the various cities in which he was active. It also mentions the Jeta Grove (jetavana) in Sāvatthi; the Kosambakuṭī, presumably in Kosambī; the 'Great Perfumed Chamber' (mahāgandhakuṭī) and the Musk-Rose Pavilion (karerimaṇḍalamāḷa). Although this commentary does not locate these last two, the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā uses 'Mahāgandhakutī' as synonymous with the Sandalwood Pavilion in Suppāraka.[59] The Mahāvastu,[60] Śikṣāsamuccaya[61] and two stories from the Divyāvadāna[62] refer to a mālāvihāra, which could mean either a monastic residence made of or decorated with garlands, or a pavilion

on top of such a structure.[63] Although our text appears to suggest the latter meaning, as we shall see, the former is not without significance.

From the Pūrṇāvadāna we know that the Buddha's private chamber in the Jeta Grove in Śrāvastī is called his gandhakutī, 'perfumed chamber'. However, as Strong has shown, as the Buddha's private chamber the gandhakuṭī, which appears throughout the Pāli commentaries and the Sanskrit avadānas, was a "matter of importance whenever accommodations had to be built to receive the Buddha and his retinue".[64] Moreover, the gandhakuṭī is as much the Buddha's "cultic abode" as his "private monastic dwelling." Strong cites scenes from several texts where flower-offerings made to the Buddha remain suspended around him, forming a kind of chamber which, in some accounts, moves with him wherever he goes. Such imagery represents a function of devotional worship (pūjā): to make the Buddha 'present' even when, as in our text, he is absent in another place or even when he is 'absent' in parinirvāṇa.[65] Here I would only wish to nuance Strong's analysis by pointing out that in our text, Pūrṇa's offerings do not actually form a chamber around or canopy above the Buddha. The flowers "settled down at the end of the line of senior monks, while the incense appeared there like a canopy of clouds and the water [from the vase] like a staff of lapis lazuli" (p. 68). Nevertheless, such imagery accords perfectly with the function which Strong ascribes to it, for as an invitation, Pūrṇa's offerings are 'beckoning' the Buddha to enter the 'real' perfumed chamber, the Sandalwood Pavilion in Sūrpāraka.

A passage in the Dīgha-nikāya Commentary[66] which describes the Buddha's daily routine in Śrāvastī explains how the Buddha's private chamber comes to be designated as 'perfumed'. The Buddha uses this chamber as his residence, addresses the monks from the jewelled staircase which leads up to it, conducts audiences in it and, most importantly, receives there the laity who come to honour him with incense, flowers and other offerings. The fragrance of these offerings 'perfumes' the chamber.

The ambiguity of the term mālā in mālāvihāra reappears in the name of Pūrṇa's great devotional offering to the Buddha, the candanamāla prāsāda (which I have translated simply as 'Sandalwood Pavilion'), for the word can be read as mālā, 'garland' (also spelled māla) or as an alternative form of māḍa, 'hall, pavilion' or of the synonymous Pāli māḷa[67] Given the ambiguity of the term, we can understand candanamāla prāsāda in one of three ways: as a storied building which incorporates a chamber or room made of sandalwood;[68] as a building profusely decorated with carved sandalwood, perhaps in the form of galleries;[69] or as a building built entirely out of sandalwood. Since the text states that Pūrṇa used Bhavila's entire cargo to build the Pavilion, I am inclined to understand the entire edifice to be made of sandalwood. At the same time, one assumes that, within or on top of such a structure, the Buddha would have his own private chamber. Nevertheless, whatever the precise meaning of candanamāla, one can scarcely imagine anything more fragrant.

When we turn to the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā, we find that the sandalwood pavilion which, on Puṇṇa's advice, Pūṇṇa's brother and his colleagues build for the Buddha, is called maṇḍalamāla ('circular pavilion'), while the Buddha's private cell – which I am

interpreting as a room within it – is designated mahāgandhakuṭī.[70] The Puṇṇa-theragāthā-vaṇṇanā[71] straightforwardly states: "Puṇṇa had built in Suppāraka, out of red sandalwood, a Perfumed Chamber (gandhakuṭī) called the Sandalwood Pavilion (candanamāḷa)."

If we regard the Sandalwood Pavilion as functioning for the Saṅgha as a whole as the perfumed chamber (gandhakuṭī) does for its leader, the Buddha, the pattern of implication in our story becomes clearer. When the Buddha visited a place, especially a city, he was provided with a special cell or chamber. This soon became redolent with the fragrant offerings made by devotees. This much is attested in numerous sources.[72] The Pūrṇāvadāna simply extends or amplifies this tradition, making the Buddha's perfumed chamber one room in a much grander edifice, a monastic building every particle of which ceaselessly honours the entire Buddhist Order with its inherent fragrance. Thus, constructing the Pavilion out of sandalwood is the devoted Pūrṇa's way of honouring his Master and his fellow disciples with a building that in and of itself embodied the fragrance of devotion (bhakti).

We may now assign a similar significance to the puṣpamaṇḍapa or "flower-pavilion" that Pūrṇa's devotional ritual atop the Sandalwood Pavilion propels toward Śrāvastī as an offering/invitation to the Buddha. It is a kind of portable gandhakuṭī that functions as a temporary substitute for the real offering – the Pavilion itself – that awaits in Sūrpāraka.

In this schema, a place in which the Buddha has stayed, taught and accepted veneration is likely to boast a gandhakuṭī in some form. Indeed, such a structure is one way to recognize a city where the people are devoted to the Three Jewels. As the narrator of our story puts it, following his lengthy description of the spiritual attainments achieved by those who rushed to the Pavilion to hear the Buddha speak (p. 76):

> Overall, that assembly became devoted to the Buddha, intent on the Dharma and committed to the Monastic Community.

By having Pūrṇa establish in Sūrpāraka not only the expected perfumed chamber for the Buddha, but an entire perfumed monastery for the Saṅgha, the author reinforces a familiar and symbolically powerful means of demonstrating that the people are now truly devotees of the Buddha.

The 'miracle at Sūrpāraka' – the transformation of the Pavilion into crystal – encapsulates five themes. First and most obviously, the Buddha's own reasoning (p. 76):

> The crowd of people, unable to see the Lord, began to force its way into the Sandalwood Pavilion. The Lord reflected, "If the Sandalwood Pavilion is wrecked, the merit of the donors will be obstructed. Suppose now I were to transform the Pavilion into crystal."

To provide material support for the Saṅgha is one of the principal duties of the Buddhist lay-disciple and is considered a karmically salutary act. In the terminology of the avadānas (p. 82), it is a "wholly white" deed (śukla karma), as is its fruit; it generates

merit (puṇya). Monks in fact depend upon such 'giving' (dāna) for food, clothing, medicine and, as in this instance, lodging. Here the Buddha refers to Bhavila and the other merchants who donated their cargo for building materials as well as to those who may have donated their labour. He intends to prevent the merit they have generated by their devotion and generosity from being, as it were, 'denatured'.

Secondly, and also obviously, transforming the wooden building into crystal and enabling everyone to see the Buddha constitutes in itself a great spiritual gift. This has been graphically illustrated earlier in the story when the five hundred matrons first catch sight of the Lord (pp. 71–72):

> At the mere sight of him, on their part great faith in the Lord arose. This is to be expected: meditative cultivation of calm awareness, practised for twelve years, could not produce such joy in the mind, nor could the birth of a son for a man without sons, nor the sight of a treasure-trove for a poor man, nor royal consecration for one who desires kingship, as does the first sight of a Buddha for a living being who has planted the roots of spiritual merit over many lifetimes.

The logic may appear circular, but our story implies that one who sees the Buddha and responds favourably has in fact planted such roots.

Indeed, in the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā,[73] Puṇṇa does not ask the merchants he has rescued whether they know of the Buddha or whether they are acquainted with his teachings; he asks them whether they have ever before beheld the Lord. And when they respond in the negative, he tells them to use their sandalwood cargo to build a pavilion so that they will see the Buddha. In India even today, 'taking darśan from' a great religious teacher is thought to have immense spiritual benefits.[74]

Thirdly, and closely related to the foregoing, transforming the wooden building into transparent crystal is the latest and most dramatic of the Buddha's displays of psychic power, yet another indicator of his spiritual mastery and a further stimulus to faith.

Fourthly, prior to the Buddha's visit, Sūrpāraka is an important commercial centre; the presence of the crystal pavilion establishes the city as a major pilgrimage centre.

Lastly, we may interpret the now-crystal pavilion as the Buddha's acknowledgement of, even his reward for, the success of Pūrṇa's mission. In deigning to transmute his disciple's work, he proffers him an apt emblem of the pristine clarity of the Awakened mind.

The Story of the Past

In addition, recognizing the Sandalwood Pavilion as a specific instance of the gandhakuṭī-motif with its associated themes of Buddha-bhakti, dāna and the establishment of 'sacred space,' enables us to show that the 'story of the past' (pp. 81–82) is more fully integrated into the 'story of the present' than may at first be apparent.

A superficial reading of the story of the past reveals a rather simplistic relationship between Pūrṇa's "deed of harsh speech" and his five hundred rebirths as the son of a slave-girl, a one-to-one correspondence between the act (karman) and its consequences

(karmavipāka). To be sure, at least one canonical (Theravādin) sutta explicitly affirms this understanding of karma,[75] which to the modern reader may give the impression of little more than a Buddhist deus ex machina. Yet a closer reading of our text reveals that the connection between the two narratives is rather more complex.

First of all, some context for two issues: the importance of well-regulated speech and sweeping as a spiritual discipline. Abstention from harsh speech (paruṣavākya) is found in a number of canonical sources,[76] where, as one of the Ten Virtuous (or Skilful) Deeds (daśakuśalakarma), it is connected with the production of 'skilful' (kuśala) and 'unskilful' (akuśala) mental states. John Garrett Jones,[77] noting the "particular emphasis given to speech" in the Pāli Nikāyas, concludes that the concern for true and well-regulated speech is central to Buddhism because no other authority is available. "From the point of view of the Nikāyas, social life must be regulated by the Dhamma and, pre-eminent in all this, is the virtue of truth-speaking itself." Accordingly, the avadāna literature makes much of the karmic consequences of harsh speech. Two examples will suffice here. In the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya,[78] the arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja explains his many births in the hells as a consequence of his wretched treatment of his mother, brothers and sisters in a former birth. Avarice, stinginess and cruelty are certainly highlighted, but in refusing to give food to his famished mother, Piṇḍola recalls telling her, "'You may eat tiles and stones!'" – surely 'harsh speech' par excellence. Similarly, in the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish,[79] a story-collection compiled in Central Asia by Chinese monks, but which clearly depends on Indian models, the Buddha explains the extreme ugliness of King Prasenajit's daughter, Vajrā, as resulting from her habit, in a previous birth, of insulting an ugly pratyekabuddha to whom her father was devoted.

Pūrṇa's "deed of harsh speech" (kharavākkarma) consists in reviling an arhat with the epithet "son of a slave-girl." The narrator identifies this arhat as the upadhivāra, the groundskeeper. Pūrṇa's angry outburst proceeds, of course, from not having yet conquered the passions, but more immediately from his mistaken supposition that the monk has been remiss in sweeping the grounds of the monastery. However, such activity is not merely one aspect of monastic housekeeping; it also qualifies as a devotional act, particularly when it involves sweeping out the Buddha's private chamber (gandhakuṭī). An inscription at Kānheri – near Bombay, not far from the historic site of Sūrpāraka – refers to a monastic post called gandhakuṭībhārika, explained by Sukumar Dutt as "a monk in charge of keeping the sanctuary clean".[80] While this appears to be a more specialized position than that of upadhivāra, in our text the arhat performs a similar function.

The Dīgha-nikāya Commentary records that after the Buddha's death, Ānanda, his longtime personal attendant, continued to sweep out and otherwise maintain his perfumed chamber (gandhakuṭī)[81] In the Avadānaśataka, the Saṅgha appoints the monk Lekuñcika sweeper of the Buddha's gandhakuṭī after it is discovered that he makes progress in meditation only on the days he has performed this duty.[82] Elsewhere in the same text, the Buddha himself delivers a discourse on the spiritual benefits of sweeping: these include accumulation of merit, a favourable rebirth and purifying not only one's own mind, but also those of other humans and of the gods.[83] In the Pūrṇāvadāna, as in

comparable circumstances in other avadānas,[84] the king of Sūrpāraka prepares for the Buddha's arrival by having the city "swept clean of gravel, pebbles and Stones."

Thus in his previous birth Pūrṇa not only verbally abused one who is an arhat, a grievous enough misdeed in itself, but one who was engaged in the highly meritorious act of sweeping the residence of the Buddha Kāśyapa. On the one hand, this compounds the seriousness of the offense; on the other, it makes it that much more karmically appropriate that in his present life, Pūrṇa, now himself a n arhat, dedicates a special residence to the Buddha and his fellow monks.

Finally, one passage in the story of the past suggests a logic for the present Pūrṇa's highly devotional temperament – a logic much more specific to Pūrṇa than the fact that avadānas characteristically exalt devotional service to the Buddha, saintly individuals and holy sites. As a disciple of the Buddha Kāśyapa, Pūrṇa "mastered the Threefold Collection of Scriptures and carried out the business of the Order in accordance with Dharma" (p. 81). Together with his prickliness in the matter of the dusty monastery, this gives us a picture of a stern scholar-administrator, a sort of irascible faculty dean, preoccupied with scrupulous preservation of the scriptural tradition and punctilious adherence to rules and regulations, one whose observance of the letter of the law interferes with his cultivation of its spirit.

By contrast, the story of the present portrays Pūrṇa with strong elements of a quite different character. As a layman, he is an obedient and uncomplaining son and younger brother. As a monk, the Buddha commends him for his 'patient forebearance' (kṣānti) which, when confronted by the hunter, he proceeds to demonstrate in practice. He further demonstrates these qualities by rescuing his brother's trading expedition and reconciling the members of his family. Moreover, his pūjā atop the Sandalwood Pavilion is depicted as a devotional act of great fervour. It is true that the Pūrṇāvadāna much attentuates the importance which the Puṇṇovāda-sutta-vaṇṇanā[85] places on Pūrṇa's practice of meditation in wild and isolated Sunāparanta. Nevertheless, our text does still imply what the Theravādin commentary graphically portrays: that, all alone, far from 'civilized' Śrāvastī and from his teachers and fellow monks, Pūrṇa not only achieves arhatship, the supreme goal of the religious life, but converts the rude rustics to the Buddhadharma and prepares the way for the evangelization of the capital city itself.

Thus Pūrṇa in his previous birth and Pūrṇa in his final birth embody the two main paradigms for members of the Buddhist Order. The village-dwelling (grāmavāsin) monk, who frequently enters the Order as a youth, lives in a monastery, maintains the scriptural tradition by assuming the 'burden of books' (granthadhara), strives for spiritual progress through doctrinal study (dharmānusārin), achieves liberation through intellectual intuition (prajñāvimukti), serves and is supported by the local lay community. By contrast, the forest-dwelling (araṇyavāsin) monk frequently enters the Order in his middle or later years. Though he may have disciples, he lives alone or in a small informal group detached from the constraints of ecclesiastical hierarchy. He is a meditator (dhyāyin) rather than a scholar, follows an intuitive-emotional (śraddhānusārin) spiritual path rather than analytical-rationalist one and attains liberation through insight born of yogic practice (ubhayatobhāgavimukti).[86]

Given his involvement with the king and the dedication of a monastery, stereotypically 'urban' activities, Pūrṇa, as we have him in the avadāna, embodies both ideals, rather like the Emperor Aśoka's preceptor Upagupta. Nevertheless, the contrast between Pūrṇa's present and former careers is hard to miss.

Thus in his present life as the son of Bhava and disciple to the Buddha Gautama, Pūrṇa rectifies not only his ancient "deed of harsh speech," but also other shortcomings in the cultivation of the Way as he practised it in his previous birth. From a literary perspective, these interrelations demonstrate that our author did not merely maintain a traditional generic narrative structure, but was able to connect 'past' and 'present' in a number of subtle and meaningful ways.

Our text describes the Buddha's exposition of the Dharma at Sūrpāraka in the same formulaic language it uses on the occasions of the conversions on the way from Srāvastī. However, as the events at Sūrpāraka are so momentous and the numbers involved that much larger, so the various types of realization attained by members of the audience are more profound and more diverse. Here, too, the Buddha's 'miracle of instruction' is far more impressive, for he perfectly adapts a single discourse to the simultaneous edification of a wide range of personalities. This the Buddha achieves by inducing in each member of the crowd a profound meditative state (p. 76) by means of which each attains the highest degree of insight commensurate with his or her present stage of development. Three categories of spiritual development or attainment are enumerated.[87] The first involves the planting of two types of "roots of merit," i.e., the activation of wholesome mental states which generate positive karmic forces which in turn predispose the individual toward actions and mental states favourable to the attainment of advanced stages of the Path. The second involves actually realizing one of four stages of spiritual attainment: Stream-Enterer, Once-Returner, Non-Returner and Arhat. The third category refers to individuals who "produce a resolution" – that is to say, make a vow – to attain one of three types of Awakening: that of a Disciple (arhatship), of a Solitary Buddha, or of a Fully Awakened Buddha.

Here we find presented the principle categories of spiritual attainment recognized by the tradition, an acknowledgement of the diversity of human temperament and ability. Once again, the effect is to portray the Buddha as the universal teacher who is able to minister to the spiritual potential, however latent, in everyone and anyone.

Particularly noteworthy, in this list, is the inclusion of resolutions to attain the three types of Awakening, for these correspond to similar subcategories of Awakening as presented not only in the Avadānaśataka, but also in Mahāyāna scriptures. Consider, for example, The White Lotus of the True Dharma (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka), which became so influential in East Asian Buddhism. This text discusses the doctrine of the Three Ways (triyāna): the Way of the Disciples (śrāvakayāna), the Way of the Solitary Buddhas (pratyekabuddhayana) and the Way of the Bodhisattvas (bodhisattvayāna). In doing so, it vigorously promotes its own doctrine – that there is in reality only One Way (ekayāna), the Way which leads to "Supreme, Perfect Awakening" and that any apparent diversity is due to the fact that the Buddhas expound the Dharma differently to beings of differing capacities.[88] Although its focus is rather different, another early Mahāyāna sūtra, The

Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines (Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā), declaims the ultimate insubstantiality of the Three Ways and hence also of the types of Awakening to which they lead.[89]

There is a second passage in the Pūrṇāvadāna which also distinguishes between different types of Awakening. Here, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, one of the Buddha's two chief disciples and famed for his mastery of psychic powers (ṛddhi), has just returned to Śrāvastī from the Maricika world-system. The outbound journey (p. 78), made by means of Maudgalyāyana's psychic powers, took a week; the return trip, by means of the Buddha's, was more or less instantaneous (p. 80). Maudgalyāyana, "his mind quite overcome by astonishment," declares (p. 80):

> "Venerable, I did not realize that the powers of the Buddha were so profound. Had I known this, my mind would never have been turned back from Supreme, Perfect Awakening even were my body to have been ground into [particles as tiny as] sesame seeds! Now that I am [worn out like] spent fuel, what can I do?"

Although the Buddha does not respond to his disciple's question – the scene shifts abruptly to the story of the past – the Lotus Sūtra contains passages which read almost like Maudgalyāyana's answer to his own question. A prominent part of this text involves the Buddha foretelling the Buddhahood of arhats famous in the earlier tradition. In one passage, Maudgalyāyana listens to the prediction of Śāriputra's attainment of Supreme, Perfect Awakening as the Tathāgata Padmaprabha,[90] then, "struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture",[91] he and several other eminent arhats address the Buddha as follows:

> "Worn out by old age, we fancy that we have attained Nirvāṇa; we make no efforts, Lord, for Supreme, Perfect Awakening; our force and exertion are inadequate to it … having fled out of the triple world, O Lord, we imagined having attained Nirvāṇa, and we are decrepit from old age."[92]

In this text, however, Maudgalyāyana learns that – albeit in unimaginably distant future births – all of the Buddha's immediate disciples (śrāvaka), himself among them, shall eventually attain Supreme, Perfect Awakening and become Buddhas. He then exults in having "acquired a magnificent jewel, O Lord, an incomparable jewel," and, apparently in chorus with his fellow arhats, proceeds to relate a parable to illustrate his comprehension of the astonishing news.[93]

Although in quite different circumstances, a number of stories in the Avadānaśataka depict various devotees receiving predictions (vyākarana) to buddhahood[94] and pratyekabuddhahood.[95] Taken together with the prominence accorded to faith and devotion in such Mahayana scriptures as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and Sukhāvatīvjūha, the foregoing raises a fascinating question: what is the relation – historical, textual, sectarian, doctrinal – between the type of narrative represented by the Pūrṇāvadāna and certain Mahāyāna narratives and literary strategies? A complex question that lies beyond

the scope of the present study. Yet it may be that common sources can be found for these features, inchoate in one group of texts and fully developed in the other.[96]

It now remains to consider in greater detail the two episodes by which the story of the present and the story of the past are linked – the conversion of the two serpent-kings (nāgarāja) and the conversion of Maudgalyāyana's mother.

Humour is one of the more culture-specific human phenomena. What is light-hearted or witty in one language, in one time and place, may in another appear unremarkable, awkward, merely silly, even crass. That being said, the nāga-episode strikes one as definitely light-hearted, even humorous. As the Buddha's conversions leading up to the 'grand event' at Sūrpāraka contribute to the mounting atmosphere of wonder, devotion and anticipation, so his encounter with the nāgas serves as a more relaxed, even convivial interlude between the wonder of the 'crystal pavilion episode' and the again serious business of Maudgalyayana and his mother.

When the Buddha has completed his address to the citizenry, Pūrṇa's three brothers, again united through Pūrṇa's wholesome agency, invite the Lord to receive alms at their home (p. 76). After the Buddha accepts the invitation, he becomes aware that Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka, attended by their nāga-retinue,[97] are on their way from the ocean to Sūrpāraka to hear the Dharma. Therefore, in order to prevent any damage the well-meaning but rambunctious nāgas might unwittingly cause, the Buddha sets out to head them off.

In general, nāgas play positive roles in Buddhist accounts.[98] Perhaps the most famous example is the nāga Mucilinda protecting the meditating Buddha from the elements with his outspread, cobra-like hood.[99] A number of jātaka stories record nāgas' generosity toward the Bodhisattva;[100] others, their gratitude in receiving religious instruction. And according to one Mahayana tradition, the nāgas preserve the Perfection of Wisdom scriptures in their subterranean world until humanity is capable of benefitting from their promulgation, at which time the sage Nāgārjuna retrieves them.[101] In our story, however, although Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka are well-disposed toward the Buddha and are eager to benefit from religious instruction, the Buddha knows that "if they come to Sūrpāraka they will wreak havoc" (p. 76). They are well-meaning, these nāgas, but a touch careless and perhaps somewhat lacking in intellect. Being very powerful, semi-divine beings, this makes them dangerous, something like the proverbial bull in the china-shop. We find a similar combination of commitment to the Buddha and lack of attentiveness elsewhere in the Divyāvadāna,[102] where nāga-princes carefully guard yet at the same time sorely neglect the gandhakuṭīs of Śākyamuni and six previous Buddhas.

In any case, having to rush off to attend to the incoming nāgas leads the Buddha to give Maudgalyayāna an impromptu lesson in monastic regulations. While the presence of this episode in the Pūrṇa-story may have provided orthodox justification for the Mūlasarvāstivādins to include it in their Vinaya, when we see how much narrative materiał there is in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya in comparison to the other extant Vinayas, it is difficult to resist the inference that the Mūlasarvāstivādins – or at least those entrusted with compiling their Vinayapiṭaka – were particularly fond of a good tale.

To return to our narrative: since the Buddha now cannot lead his monks to receive alms at the home of Pūrṇa's brothers, he despatches Maudgalyāyana to fetch his meal for him. This being irregular procedure, the Buddha explains to his disciple that in going out to deal with the serpent-kings, "the Lord is acting in regard to the material property [of the Order]," which circumstances fulfill one of the five conditions for accepting "irregular almsfood" (pp. 76–77).

Of course the Buddha then proceeds not only to warn Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka to be on their best behaviour, but also to win them over to the Dharma. Being nāgas, however, their capacity for spiritual development is limited. The scene of their conversion, in comparison to the preceding five, is brief and matter-of-fact: the description is terse and the new lay-disciples exhibit no transports of gratitude or devotion. They do come to have faith in the Three Jewels and do accept the minimal moral precepts binding on lay Buddhists. And each of the five hundred nāgas is inspired to offer alms to the Lord (p. 77).

Having circumvented any potential danger, the Lord is now ready to partake of the "irregular almsfood" which he has brought with him. For their part, the nāgas wish to offer a beverage for the Buddha to take with his meal. Now on previous occasions, the Buddha has made use of his psychic powers in order to inspirē people with his spiritual authority. With the nāgas, he finds this unnecessary: in order to prevent his new upāsakas from quarreling over which one shall have the honour of providing the Lord's drinking water, he needs only to exercise his wits.

We are right to regard this episode as yet another example of the Buddha's charismatic power over all living beings, human, divine and other. Yet in their simple-minded enthusiasm, their naive protestations of harmlessness (p. 77) and their almost juvenile competitiveness in offering dāna, it is difficult not to detect a touch of comic relief, a temporary respite from the intensity of the preceding events.

The episode of the serpent-kings also serves to introduce Mahāmaudgalyāyana. As one of the Buddha's two chief disciples, he is among the five hundred arhats who has accompanied the Buddha to Sūrpāraka from Śrāvastī. Even a cursory reading shows that there is a lack of narrative continuity in both the transition to (p. 77) and from (p. 80) the account of the Buddha's and Maudgalyayana's visit to Maricika. This suggests that this episode represents an independent narrative, or part of a larger one, originally adapted from another source. Nevertheless we find in it a number of themes already treated in our story and this may in part explain its inclusion in our story.

First, the topic of the discourse which Maudgalyāyana quotes is filial piety, the nature of one's duty to one's parents. The question is how to repay those who have given one the rare gift of human birth, for among all categories of living beings, only as a human can one attain Awakening. The answer, in practical terms, once again has to do with dāna, which is due not only to the Saṅgha, but also to one's parents. The traditional understanding of reciprocity between laity and the Buddhist Order is that the former should pro vide material support because (1) the very deed generates merit and (2) the Saṅgha pro vides religious instruction and spiritual guidance, which are beyond price. By analogy, in the case of parents not concerned with moral and spiritual practice (p. 78),

the sincere practitioner of the Dharma, lay or ordained, should regard his or her paramount duty to them as that of a monk or nun toward the laity. The discourse enumerates four types of "riches" which transcend in value all material wealth (p. 78): "true faith," "moral discipline," "giving," and "spiritual insight".[103]

In this schema, the greatest gift, the most meritorious dāna, is that of religious instruction, the conversion of the unconverted. This of course has been a central topic in our story since Pūrṇa first listened to the merchants chanting Buddhist scripture. After his ordination, Pūrṇa and the Buddha perform many feats of instruction and conversion, yet this is only one of two passages which present the logic and motivation for spreading the Dharma. The other oceurs when the Buddha instruets Pūrṇa, also the only other place in the story where we find the text of one of the Buddha's discourses. There (p. 63), by contrast, the Buddha is merely encouraging Pūrṇa on the eve of his return to Śroṇāparāntaka:

> "Go then, Pūrṇa. Having attained liberation, liberate others! Having crossed over, convey others across! Having attained calm, calm others! Having attained final emancipation, emancipate others!"

Elsewhere, particularly those episodes leading up to and including the grand conversion at the Sandalwood Pavilion, our story depicts instruction and conversion as highly dramatic events marked by devotion, ritual and displays of supernormal powers. Here the topic is for the first time discussed rather than dramatized, and as the responsibility of every Buddhist, rather than as a function of the Buddha's or Pūrṇa's irresistible spiritual power. In other words, after the succession of events which highlight first awakenings of faith and devotion, the narrative pauses to deliver the Buddha's directives to those who themselves have already seen the Truth.

Maudgalyāyana, however, does not remain long in this reflective mood. While Pūrṇa may be considered the 'patron saint' of Śroṇāparāntaka, Maudgalyāyana must be regarded as one of the luminaries of the early tradition. Not only does scripture record that the Buddha extolled his mastery of psychic powers and considered him one of his two chief disciples, but historical records show that stūpas honouring him were erected in several places in the Indian subcontinent.[104] Such eminence renders him a most suitable protagonist for one more edifying tale.

The episode of Maudgalyāyana's mother also functions as an analogue to Pūrṇa's evangelization of Sūrpāraka. Pūrṇa invites the Buddha to instruct the people of his native city; Maudgalyāyana requests the Buddha to undertake his mother's spiritual training. Displays of psychic power feature prominently in both accounts. The narrator describes the Buddha's instruction of his disciple's mother (p. 79) in the same formulaic language he has employed for other scenes of instruction. Similarly repeated is the familiar pattern of the Buddha's approach, exposition of the Dharma which inspires conversion, the new convert's spiritual attainment and offering of alms. One notable feature in this episode is Bhadrakanyā's 'joyful declaration' (udāna). Although also couched in largely stereotyped phraseology (p. 79), it nevertheless qualifies as the most eloquent and passionate

outpouring of exultation, devotion and gratitude in the entire story. Considering that it is placed as the story's final conversion-scene, it is a particularly effective speech: the author has saved the best for last.

On a different note, Maudgalyāyana's recapitulation of the Buddha's teaching that instruction in the Dharma qualifies as the supreme act of filial piety followed by the Buddha's instruction of that arhat's mother contributes an additional dimension to the theme of the Dharma as a unifying, positive force in family life. For his part, in this matter, Pūrṇa, who has been instrumental in reuniting his own family under the aegis of the Dharma, has preceded his more senior colleague.

Finally, in addition to abovementioned remarks concerning Maudgalyāyana's regret at not having striven for Buddhahood, the depiction of the Buddha's incomparable powers articulates a last glorification of the Lord before the narrative shifts to the story of the past.

It is also important to point out that the grave concern on Maudgalyāyana's part to 'do right' by his mother is not peculiar to him, to our story, or indeed, attested only in textual sources. First of all, the 'Discourse on Filial Piety' which Maudgalyayana recites (pp. 77–78) is in fact one of the stock passages which occur repeatedly in the Avadānaśataka, Divyāvadāna, Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya and elsewhere in Buddhist literature.[105] Secondly, and certainly of greater historical significance, we find numerous donative inscriptions – some of them at Ajaṇṭā, not far from the site of ancient Sūrpāraka – which record the great concern that Buddhist monks and nuns had for their parents' welfare.[106] Given that monastics could not live with their parents and care for them, especially in their declining years, such concern is hardly surprising.

We now turn to that final episode, the story of the past (pp. 81–82), where the Buddha explains Pūrṇa's circumstances and achievements in his present birth as the karmic result of actions performed in a previous birth. Specifically, the Buddha recounts a brief story, the setting of which is "[l]ong ago, yet in this present Auspicious Aeon (bhadrakalpa), when people had a life-span of twenty thousand years",[107] the protagonist of which he identifies with Pūrṇa. In this narrative, Pūrṇa's reviling of the arhat is causally related to his five hundred births as the son of a slave-girl, his "service to the Monastic Community" to his final rebirth in a wealthy family, and his assiduity in studying the Dharma and in working "for the welfare of many" to his attainment of arhatship.

The inclusion of this final episode conforms to the structural conventions of the avadāna genre, whereby a story comprises two distinct narratives – the 'story of the past' and the 'story of the present' – with the protagonist of the second being identified with the protagonist of the first and specific virtuous and/or wicked deeds of the former causally related to specific features in the biography of the latter. But literary analysis always seeks unique as well as generic features: a story of the past which merely satisfies generic conventions leaves something to be desired. In the Pūrṇāvadāna, the apparently simplistic, even gratuitous connection made between events in the two narratives seems to provide grounds for such a conclusion. On the other hand, we have argued above that Pūrṇa's character and actions in his present life clearly function as a completion of or corrective to those in his past life, thus indicating one way in which the

author continues to develop essential themes specific to his story in the very process of maintaining fidelity to generic conventions. Here, in order to more fully analyze the narrative organization of the story of the past and its contribution to the story as a whole, we need to address a number of additional topics.

Despite its brevity – perhaps five percent of the text – the story of the past can be divided into five parts: (1) the monks question the Buddha concerning Pūrṇa's karmic history; (2) the Buddha discourses briefly on the nature of actions and their consequences, (3) narrates the story of the past proper, (4) explains the effects of which the actions in (3) were causes, and (5) announces the 'moral' of the story which he exhorts the monks to apply in pursuing their own spiritual development.

1. The monks' questions constitute the formulaic device, typical of many jātakas and avadānas, which introduces the Buddha's narration of the story of the past. The introduction into the narrative of the monks' questions explicitly marks the Pūrṇāvadāna as a teaching story, for the Buddha usually responds to such questions with a discourse on some aspect of the Dharma. This of course is another convention of the avadāna genre, according to which the Buddha expounds the doctrine of karma, whereas a principal concern of this study has been to demonstrate that our story, while adhering to generic conventions, develops a number of important themes which quite invalidate stereotyping it merely as a 'karma-tale'.

An important function of the story of the past as a whole is to validate the authenticity of the entire narrative. Many sūtras, both mainstream and Mahayana scriptures, commence with the phrase "Thus have I heard".[108] The "I" refers to the Buddha's personal attendant, the monk Ānanda, who is held to have heard personally or had repeated to him virtually all the discourses that the Buddha ever made and to have recited them at the First Council held shortly after the Buddha's death, at which time the assembled disciples certified them as the actual speech of the Buddha (buddbavacana).[109] Later, the authors of many Mahāyāna sūtras (and for that matter, of many Tantras) adopted this formula as a self-authentication strategy.[110]

While a number of stories in the Divyāvadana make use of this literary convention, the majority, the Pūrṇāvadāna among them, do not.[111] In our story no identity is assigned to the narrative persona. In such cases we may regard the Buddha explaining the story of the present by recounting the story of the past as a narrative strategy which demonstrates that the Lord himself vouches for the accuracy of the narrator's portrayal of events. The Buddha is one of the characters in the first part of the story; in the second he is both a character and the narrator of the story of the past. In this way, the conventional narrative structure of the genre serves an important authenticating function for the tradition, one that is not as immediately obvious as the karmic links established between Pūrṇa's deeds in his different births.

Lest this argument be thought a trifle tenuous, it should also be pointed out that later avadāna texts explicitly acknowledge both their posteriority to the canonical literature and this need for authentication by introducing additional narrative persona. The final story of the Avadānaśataka for the first time introduces as narrator the arhat Upagupta, whom it represents as recounting events from after the Buddha's death, the narratives of

which had been handed down from master to disciple from the time of Ānanda. The much later sub-genre, the so-called 'garlands of avadānas' (avadānamālās), are all presented as related by Upagupta to his disciple, the celebrated Emperor Aśoka. A still later group o f avadāna texts, composed in Nepal sometime after the fourteenth century, self-consciously add a third narrative frame: the bodhisattva Jayaśrī recounts to his disciple, King Jinaśrī, events from the lifetime of the Buddha (or even from the lives of previous Buddhas) just as Upagupta, who had inherited them from his teacher Śāṇavāsin, had long before told them to Aśoka.[112] However, it appears that in the Pūrṇāvadāna and many other early avadānas, having the Buddha as the narrative persona relating the story of the past was thought sufficient authority for purposes of authentication.

2. The discourse on karma is the third and final passage which contains the 'text' of one of the Buddha's discourses – the other two being his exhortation of Pūrṇa and Maudgalyāyana's recapitulation of the discourse on filial piety. Here the Buddha reminds the monks of a few salient points concerning the doctrine before launching into the story which illustrates them.

Technically, karman, 'deed, act, action' means cetanā, '(morally significant) volitional act,' whether of body, speech or mind. [113] In his discourse the Buddha emphasizes the self-reflexive nature of volitional acts. That is, although actions produce effects on the objects to which they are directed, the agent of such actions also and always experiences effects, whether immediately, or as is more often the case in avadānas, in some future birth. Such is the import of the Buddha's distinction between the effects of actions in the world external to the agent – represented by the four elements -and the effects of the same actions on the agent himself – the skandhas which comprise the psycho-physical continuum into which Buddhist doctrine analyzes the human person. His other two main points are that these effects "may be wholesome or unwholesome" and that volitional acts inevitably have effects, although these may not become apparent ("bear fruit") for "a hundred aeons." Less technically, the Buddha highlights for his audience – and the author for his – the fact that we are the makers of our own destinies and that once performed, our actions are irrevocable. Pūrṇa, of course, is the case in point.

3. Having expounded the doctrine, the Buddha illustrates its operation in one particular karmic continuum – that of Pūrṇa. This is what I have called 'the story of the past proper,' the actual narrative of Pūrṇa's karmically significant deeds as a disciple, in the mythically distant past, of the Buddha Kāśyapa.

Knowing, as he does, the past and future births of all beings, the Buddha is able to recount these details to his audience. This also qualifies as another manifestation of his supernormal powers, not, perhaps, as overtly dramatic as the transubstantiation of the Sandalwood Pavilion, but more appropriate in the context of an address to monks, a group much concerned with the attributes of the spiritually-advanced mind. The Buddha's advanced cognition provides the authority for his interpretation of the story. That Pūrṇa's definitive deed occurred in the dispensation of a former Buddha emphasizes the generic nature of Buddhahood and the universal validity of the Dharma. By his own testimony, Śākyamuni is only the most recent of a number of Buddhas, each of whom expounds the same Doctrine and Discipline (dharmavinaya), each of whom traverses much the same

career.[114] This places Pūrṇa's career in a grand cosmic context, one scene in the beginningless and endless drama of Awakening in which the entire universe, potentially or actually, participates.

As the biography of an individual who experiences for many lifetimes the consequences of his own misdeed before finally attaining arhatship, the Pūrṇāvadāna recalls the stories collected in the last book of the Avadānaśataka,[115] all of which concern individuāls who suffered the consequences of their misdeeds in previous births before finally attaining release. Similarly, in the Bhaiṣajyavastu division of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya – the same division in which we find the Pūrṇāvadāna – the Buddha and a group of his most celebrated disciples fly to Lake Anavatapta to recount the consequences of their own misdeeds in previous births.[116]

We have already discussed features in the story of the past which establish thematic, rather than mere karmic, continuity with the story of the present. Here we may reiterate the topic of kṣānti. Pūrṇa's reviling of the arhat (p. 81) may be fairly described as arising from a lack of patience or forebearance (kṣānti, kṣemā): he flies into a rage rather than, like a properly mindful monk, investigating the causes and conditions for the monastery remaining unswept. Moreover, the arhat who endures Pūrṇa's abuse displays precisely the forebearance which his fellow monk lacks:

> "The groundskeeper, an arhat, heard him and thought: 'That monk is overcome with rage. Let me wait awhile. Later I shall inform him....'"

He then patiently explains to Pūrṇa the nature of his offense and points out that confessing the misdeed will mitigate the severity of its karmic consequences. We may also recall that it is precisely the strength of Pūrṇa's forebearance that the Buddha tests (pp. 62–63) by describing to him in horrific detail what may await him at the hands of the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka. And so in his present life as a disciple of Śākyamuni, Pūrṇa overcomes his shortcomings as a disciple of the Buddha Kāśyapa.

4. The moral lesson which the Buddha draws from his recollection of Pūrṇa's ancient misdeed, his exhortation of the monks to eschew "wholly black" and "mixed" deeds in favour of "wholly white deeds," and the monks' rejoicing "at the Lord's words" conclude the Pūrṇāvadāna. As mentioned above, until recently and with a few notable exceptions, scholarly study has focussed on the generic and formulaic features of the avadāna literature, with the result that interpretation generally does not penetrate any further than characterizing all avadānas as morality tales and exhortations to faith tricked out in the narrative garb of folk-tales and decorated with passages from canonical texts. This has made the critical reading of individual avadānas very difficult indeed. To adapt the proverb, it is a case of really believing that the clothes make the man – that a conventional narrative format and an abundance of traditional expressions represent the substance of these stories rather than a convenient framework, sanctioned by tradition, in which a variety of literary strategies articulate all matter of thematic concerns.

Scholars have correctly pointed out the frequency with which the Buddha's pronouncements on deeds and their karmic consequences mark the conclusion of

avadāna narratives. Frequently this has led to the simplistic conclusion that the principal topic of the genre is karma, an Indo-Buddhist version of 'as ye shall sow, so ye shall reap'. The main object of the present study has been to demonstrate that it is only when we read a story like the Pūrṇāvadāna as a literary work rather than as watered-down doctrine, as a narrative rather than as a treatise for those incapable of philosophy, that we can place in proper perspective its adherence to generic conventions. One does not develop a full understanding of a literary work by analyzing it primarily in terms of those features it shares with others of its type. Rather one explicates a work in terms of the complex interplay between what is unique and what is conventional, between what is specific and what is merely generic.

Having said that, this final section of the story of the past is among the most stereotyped and formulaic in the entire text: it could be utilized, without the slightest alteration, as the conclusion of half a hundred stories in the Avadānaśataka and many in the Divyāvadāna. But then literary critics do not argue that English Renaissance poets should not have adopted the sonnet-form perfected by Petrach centuries before them, nor do they bemoan the fact that contemporary novelists persist in writing about the joys and sorrows of love. What counts is whether an author can use those conventional forms and treat those established themes in such a way as to compel his or her audience.

While Pūrṇa is the hero of the story that bears his name and while his native land, Śroṇāparāntaka, is the principle field of his merit, the Buddha, as we have observed, is a presiding presence throughout the narrative and, as traditionally understood, the guarantor of its veracity. He is the initial as well as the final point of reference: the very first sentence of the story identifies him and his whereabouts; the very last scene in the story portrays him instructing the monks. This overarching narrative frame is a convention of sūtras as much as of avadānas: the Buddha as alpha and omega. Yet we must also remember that the narrative articulates a number of parallels between the Buddha's career and Pūrṇa's, the vaiśya latter an analogue of the kṣatriya former, and perhaps our most lasting impression is not, after all, that of the story's thoroughly conventional conclusion – the Buddha expounding the doctrine of karma at the Jeta Grove Monastery in Śrāvastī – but Pūrṇa, long after the Buddha's departure, discoursing on bhakti and bhāvanā[117] at the Sandalwood Pavilion in Sūrpāraka.

Notes

1 Otherwise unidentified page numbers refer to the Introduction and Translation.

2 See s.v. bhava, PED 449a-b, MW 748c–749a; Lamotte [1958] 1988: 35, 38. According to the Second Noble Truth, craving for continued existence (bhavatṛṣṇā) is one of the three fundamental modes of craving which leads to suffering. The term also occurs as the tenth 'link' in the 'chain of causation' (pratītyasamutpāda). The compound tribhava (Mv ii.149.17), 'three states of existence,' denotes the three 'realms' which make up saṃsāra, those of 'desire' (kāma), 'subtle form' (rūpa) and the 'formless realm' (arūpa). Apte, s.v. bhava, defines (unfortunately without citing a source) bhavāntakṛt, 'maker of the end to bhava,' as an epithet of both the Buddha and of Brahman, the impersonal absolute of the Upanisads and Vedānta philosophy.

3 See, for example, Mānavadharmaśāstra (ed. Sternbach, tr. Doniger) IX. 139: "Because the male child saves (trāyate) his father from the hell called put, therefore he was called a son (putra) by the Self-existent one himself." The identical verse also occurs in the Mahābhārata.

4 My thanks to Prof. Phyllis Granoff for pointing out these derivations.

5 See MW, s.v. pūrṇa.
6 Contrast the explanation of Purṇa (Pāli: Puṇṇa) given in the Puṇṇatherāpadāna and Puṇṇatheragāthāvaṇṇanā (tr. Appendix 2).
7 In the version of the Pūrṇa legend contained in thellth century Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (XXXVI.6c; tr. Appendix 3), she is given the name Mallikā. In the Divyāvadāna, malla and mallaka (see ED, s.vv.) are used in the sense of 'bowl, pot or vessel'. This is appropriate for one whose chief role in Pūrṇa's life is to bear him; it also underscores the thoroughly subordinate role women are given in the story, even when their actions are essential to the development of the plot.
8 According to Arthaśāstra (ed.-tr. Kangle) III. 13.123, a female slave who bears her master's son must be granted her freedom, along with that of her son; by contrast, the Mānavadharmaśāstra (III.12–19, IX.155) explicitly forbids any such 'miscegenation'.
9 For the classic Buddhist simile likening human spiritual potential to lotuses, see Vin i.6.28–7.3, tr. VT I 88, tr. BD IV 9 & n. 2. The first verse of Kṣemendra's Pūrṇāvadāna (tr. Appendix 3) also makes use of this notion.
10 There is some ambiguity here: one could take the 'reciter' as being the narrator.
11 This 'verse on impermanence' occurs also at Divy 63.16–17, 428.25–26 and frequently in the MSV.
12 Two well-known examples are the Buddha's 'Fire Sermon,' Vin i. 34.15–35.12, tr. VT I 134–135, tr. BD IV 45–46, and his 'Parable of the Burning House,' Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (ed. Vaidya) 51.16 ff., tr. Kern 72 ff. On the etymology of Nirvāṇa, see MW s.v.
13 For an extended and vehement Buddhist attack on women, see Dharmasa-muccaya IX (ed.-tr. Lin 1946–73: II 250–294).
14 There are of course philosophical problems in coordinating this position with formulations of the doctrine of karma that readily lead to the inference that inferior social standing is or at least may be evidence of misdeeds in previous births. On this topic, consider two rather different discussions of karma attributed to the Buddha: Cūḷakammavibhaṅga Sutta (MN iii.202–206, tr. MLD 1053–1057) and Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta (MN iii.207–215, tr. MLD 1058–1065). Doctrinally, the Sanskrit Mahākarmavibhanga Sūtra (ed.-tr. Levi 1932), appears to represent a much-expanded recension of the former.
15 Cf. the previous birth recounted in the Puṇṇatheragāthāvaṇṇanā (tr. Appendix 2) in which the protagonist who 'becomes' Puṇṇa is identified as a Brahmin.
16 So also the wealth and influence of the Buddhist Order.
17 For another of many 'caravan-leader' stories, this one with the Bodhisattva as its protagonist, see the Supriyāvadāna (Divy VIII) and Supriyasārthavāhajātaka (ed. Handurukande 1988).
18 For narratives which do provide such details, see the preceding note.
19 mahāsamudraṃ saṃprasthitāḥ (Divy 16.16).
20 Craving or passion tṛṣṇā, rāga), enmity dveṣa; Pāli: dosa), delusion (moha): see AN i.156–157, 263; MN i.298 (§§ 35–37), tr. MLD 395.
21 On tṛṣṇā (Pāli: tanhā) in its connection with the Four Noble Truths as "sensual craving, craving for existence, and craving for non-existence" and see: Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta: DN ii.308–310 (§§ 19–20), tr. THIH 346–347. On tṛṣṇā as the seventh 'link' in the formula of dependent origination pratītyasamuppāda; Pāli: paṭiccasamuppāda), see Conze 1967: 156–158, Lamotte 1988: 35 ff.
22 Lamotte 1988: 156–164; Warder 1980: 203–204, 229 ff.
23 Śailagāthā, Munigāthā, Arthavargtya Sūtras, Pārāyaṇa; see preceding note.
24 Saundarananda (ed.-tr. Johnson 1928–1932) XVIII.62, 64.
25 See, for example, Sattar (1994: xi–xli) on Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara.
26 MN iii.267–270; SN iv.60–63.
27 See the translation in Appendix 1.
28 Divy 22.21–24.24, or approximately ten percent of the entire text.
29 Ray 1994: esp. Chs. 6–11 and the Conclusion. While Ray's Buddhist Saints in India deals with a vast range of material and confronts a wide range of issues, his central thesis is to argue for what he calls a 'three-tier' as opposed to a 'two-tier' model of Buddhism. According to Ray's revised model, we must distinguish not simply between 'ordained' and 'laity,' but within the former, between settled, town-and-village, monastery-dwelling monks whose activities centred on ritual activity (both their own and on behalf of the laity) and maintaining the scriptural tradition, and forest-dwelling monks who eschewed doctrinal elaboration and disputation, ecclesiastical organization, and extensive, ritualized relations with the laity in favour of ascetical, meditation-centred lives much more focussed on attaining realization. On these points, see also Strong 1992: 70–74.
30 Suttanipāta (ed. Andersen-Smith, tr. Norman) w. 1050, 1055.
31 Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta: DN ii.290–315 (esp. 290, 315), tr. THIH 335–350 (esp. 335, 350); tr., with a study, Nyanaponika 1965. On 'the foundations of mindfulness,' see also Lin 1949: 118–127.
32 MW, s.v. nirvāṇa.

33 "Literally sakkāyadiṭṭhi [Skt. satkāyadṛṣṭī] means 'belief in a (really) existing body' (though 'body' here does not denote solely the physical body but all five 'constituents of personality' [khandā]) and refers not to the phenomenological sense of being a self – which everyone must have until they are enlightened – but to the use of this sense of 'I' as evidence for a metaphysical or psychological theory … Losing Personality Belief constitutes the attainment of stream-winner status" (Collins 1982: 93–94).
34 For a survey of Western interpretations, see Welbon 1968.
35 The term is that of F.W Woodward (KS I 35 n. 2). Cf. the Buddha's advice to Phagguna in the Kakacūpama Sutta (MN i.123–124, tr. MLD 218).
36 MN iii.269, tr. MLD 1119. The Pūrṇāvavāda-sūtra preserved in Chinese (T 99: vol. II, p. 89c) corresponds closely to the Sanskrit and Pāli recensions.
37 The commentary (MA v.92.13–15; tr. Appendix 2) adds that after honouring Puṇṇa's body for a week, his disciples cremated it, and placed the ashes in a reliquary shrine.
38 Note 85, p. 87.
39 For a valuable discussion of monks attaining advanced spiritual states through preaching, see Strong 1992: 81 ff.
40 See the Introduction, pp. 15–16 above.
41 See Appendices 1 and 2.
42 MN iii.214–215 (§§ 17–20), tr. MLD 1064–1065. Cf. AN i.38–39, VT III 246 n. 2, and the discussion in McDermott 1980: 176.
43 Coincidentally or not, one of the most common names for the Hindu god Śiva, with whose adherents Buddhists frequently competed.
44 On this, see Schopen 1997: 30–32, 57–67, 74–77, 238–257.
45 Gilgit Manuscripts (ed. Dutt-Sharma), vol. III, pt. 4, p. 141.2; tr. Schopen 1997: 77.
46 So Edgerton (ED, s.v. kuṇḍopadhānīyaka), who also points out that while this is a plausible rendition of the Sanskrit, it in no way accords with the explanation given for the corresponding Pāli name, Kuṇḍadhāna, "Dhāna, the Lādies' Man," on which see DPPN, s.v. Kuṇḍadhāna.
47 See the Introduction, pp. 26–27 above.
48 As Schopen (1997: 30–34, 72–85, 238–257) has pointed out, scriptural and, in particular, inscriptional evidence, shows that monks and nuns were among the most important patrons of the Order.
49 Alter 1981: 24–25.
50 Compare the Puṇṇovādasuttavaṇṇanā (Appendix 1), where, in the corresponding scene, the Buddha conceals the flying kiosks prior to entering the merchants' village.
51 On this theme in other avadāna texts, see Strong 1977: 400–401.
52 On this term, śrotaāpattiphala, see the Translation, note 127
53 On this term, anāgamiphala, see the Translation, notes 127, 140.
54 These have been collected and identified: see Avadānasataka (ed. Vaidya) 297304, tr. Feer 1–14. For occurrences in the Pūrṇāvadāna, see the Translation: notes 3–4, 14, 17, 124–126, 130, 133, 145, 175, 184, 188.
55 On the worship of the living Buddha's hair and fingernails, see Divy XV (ed. Vaidya 122, ed. Cowell-Neil 196.16–197.29); the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya account of the Buddha's meeting with Trapusa and Bhallika, the merchants who become the first two lay disciples (Ssu-fen lü, T 1428: vol. XXII, pp. 782a, 785c, tr. Bareau 1963: 109, discussed 122–123); and Schopen 1997: 196 n. 34.
56 For Theravādin versions of the Vakkalin story, see SN iii.119–124; AA i.280286; DhpA iv.117–119, tr. BL iii. 262–264.
57 Cf. DhpA iii.442–445, tr. BL iii.172–173; MLS i.307–310; KS i.182–184, iv.185–189, v.318–319; see also Translation, note 168.
58 Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā (ed. Chaudhary) i.229.6–8. For the references discussed in this paragraph, I am indebted to Lévi (1932: 63–64 n. 2); for the concept of the gandhakuṭī as the Buddha's 'cultic abode' (see below), to Strong (1977).
59 MAv.91.20, tr. Appendix 1.
60 Mv ii.367.3, tr. ii.333. Jones's "booth of festoons" and Bendall's (see next note) "some kind of booth of garlands" both miss the mark.
61 Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall) 300.8.
62 Divy (ed. Cowell-Neil) 79.2, 468.1 (identical verses).
63 In addition to Levi's note, see ED s.v. mālāvihāra and PED s.v. mālāvihāra.
64 Strong 1977: 392–395.
65 Strong 1977: 391, 394–396.
66 Tr. Warren 1896: 93–94.
67 See these entries in ED and PED.
68 "Il semble donc bien qu'il faut traduire candanamāla vihāra (ou prāsāda) par: couvent (ou pālais à étages) à pavilion de santal" (Lévi 1932: 64 n.)

69 So Strong 1977: 395–396.
70 MA v.89.11–15, 91.20–21; tr. Appendix 1. Cf. SA ii.377.28–378.1, 379.1118; tr. Duroiselle 1904: 164–166.
71 ThagA (ed. Chaudhary) i.230.19–20, tr. Appendix 2.
72 Again, see the thorough discussion in Strong 1977.
73 Satthā pana tumhehi diṭṭhapubbo ti. Na diṭṭhapubbo bhante ti. Tena hi Satthu maṇḍalamālaṃ karotha evaṃ Satthāraṃ passissathā ti (MA v.89.13–16).
74 See, for example, Narayan 1989: 21–22, 133–138, 149–152.
75 In the Cūḷakammavibhanga Sutta (MN iii.202–206, tr. MLD 1053–1057), the Buddha declares: those who kill in this life are short-lived in future lives (§5); those who are kind, gentle and compassionate in this life are long-lived in future lives (§6); violent people are sickly, but non-violent people are healthy in future births (§§ 7–8); angry, irritable, easily offended people are ugly in future births, while calm, unflappable people who accept just criticism are comely in future births (§§ 9–10); envious, jealous people are in future births without influence in society, while those who rejoice in others' good fortune are in future births very influential (§§ 11–12), etc. On the other hand, in the 'companion' text to this sutta, the Mahākammavibhaṅga (MN iii.207–215, tr. MLD 1058–1065), it is precisely this 'tit-for-tat' notion of the workings of karma from which the Buddha seeks to dissuade his interlocutors. It is perhaps not coincidental that in the first sutta, the Buddha responds to the questions of a layman, but in the second to those of monks.
76 To cite only a few examples: DN i.138–139, tr. THIH 137; MN iii.48, tr. MLD 915; AN tr. GS v.178–180.
77 Jones 1979: 121–123.
78 Cited in Przyluski [1923] 1967: 84–85.
79 Frye 1981: 35–36.
80 Dutt 1962: 149.
81 Cited and discussed in Strong 1977: 399.
82 Avadānaśataka (ed. Vaidya) 242, tr. Feer 388–389.
83 Avadānaśataka (ed. Vaidya) 96, tr. Feer 142–143.
84 References and discussion in Strong 1977: 400–401.
85 MAv.87.9–28, tr. Appendix 1.
86 On these "two distinct types," the application of the various technical terms (including the Pāli equivalents), and their roles in the history of the Buddhist Order, see Strong 1992: 70–73, Saṅgharaksita 1967: 154–158, Ray 1994: 198203, 434 ff.
87 On these technical terms, see the Translation, notes 151–154.
88 The ekayāna doctrine is forcefully dramatized in the famous 'Parable of the Burning House': see this chapter, note 12 above.
89 Tr. Conze 1975: 198.
90 SP 47.19–50.8, tr. Kern 65–69.
91 SP 71.4–5, tr. Kern 98.
92 SP 71.7–15, tr. Kern 98–99.
93 SP 71.21–74.31, tr. Kern 99–106.
94 Avś nos. 31–40 (ed. Speyer i.168ff., tr. Feer 113–159).
95 Avś nos. 21–30 (ed. Speyer i.119 ff., tr. Feer 93–111).
96 For a preliminary discussion of the relationship between jātakas, avadānas, the various independent Buddha-biographies and the development of the Mahayana, see Hirakawa 1990: 261–269.
97 In Kṣemendra's version, the two are called, simply, munīndrau, 'lords among sages' (BAKL XXXVI.74b, tr. Appendix 3).
98 For representative references, see the Translation, note 156.
99 SBV i.126; Mv iii.300–301, tr. III 287–288; Vin i.2–3, tr. BD IV 4.
100 The Buddha prior to his Awakening, both in his last and previous births.
101 Jones 1979: 186–188.
102 Saṅgharakṣitāvadāna: Divy 206.8–28.
103 All of which, of course, are perfectly exemplified by Pūrṇa.
104 Fa-hien 1886: 40, 44–46, 71–72 (400 C.E.); Beal 1884: I 187; II 6, 175 (629 C.E.)
105 See Strong 1983b.
106 See Schopen 1997: 56–71. Two representative quotations: "[I]f we take the total number of inscriptions in our sample, it would appear that not only was the concern for their parents – both living and dead – a major preoccupation among our monk-donors, but it was perhaps a special concern of this group: in more than 60 percent of all of the Indian inscriptions in our sample in which acts were undertaken to benefit the donors' parents, the donors were monks, and the percentage of monk-donors is considerably higher, as we have seen, at Mathurā, Ajaṇṭā, and Sārnāth" (p. 65). "[W]e have come to see that 'filial piety' was an old, an integral, and a pervasive part of Indian Buddhism from the earliest periods of which we have any definite knowledge, and that in actual practice the idea of

benefitting one's parents, whether living or dead, by making religious gifts on their behalf was a major, if not a specific preoccupation of Indian Buddhist monks" (p. 65).

107 A bhadrakalpa is an aeon (or cosmic time-period) in which, like our own, five Buddhas appear. See, for example, AbhidhK (tr.) iii.192–193 and Buddha-vaṃsa (tr. Horner 1975), pp. xxvii–xxviii.

108 evaṃ mayā śrutam (Skt.); evam me sutam (Pāli).

109 Mūlasarvāstivādin account (tr. from Tibetan): Rockhill 1884: 157–158; Theravādin account: Vin ii.284–293, tr. VT III 376–377, BD V 397–399.

110 See, for example, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka tr. p. 1; Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (tr. Thurman), p. 10, and most of the thirty-odd texts collected in Mahājānasūtrasaṃgraha Part I (ed. Vaidya).

111 Of the 38 stories in Divy, 29 do not begin with the 'Thus have I heard' formula. Most often, the opening sentence indicates where the Buddha was staying at that time.

112 Since most of these later texts remain unpublished, much work remains to be done. See, however, the bibliography in Hahn 1985 and the preliminary discussions in Strong 1985, Strong 1992: 158–162 and Tatelman 1997: II xi–xxii.

113 AN v.63. Discussed McDermott 1980: 181–184. Differences between various scholastic analyses of cetanā do not affect the present discussion.

114 For the locus classicus of this doctrine in the Theravādin canon, see the Mahāpadānasuttanta (DN ii. 1–54, tr. THIH 199–221); for the Sarvāstivādin recension, see Mahāvadānasūtra (ed.-tr. Waldschmidt 1953–56).

115 Avś nos. 91–100 (tr. Feer 366–436).

116 Critical edition of the Tibetan, reproduction of the Chinese text, Sanskrit fragments and annotated French translation in Hofinger 1982–1990.

117 I.e., devotion and spiritual practices (such as meditation).

CHAPTER FOUR

Concluding Remarks

In undertaking this study my aims were two: to make available for the first time a readable, usefully annotated English translation of the Pūrṇāvadāna which manages to capture something of the spirit of the original and to demonstrate the validity of literary analysis as an approach to the study of Buddhist narrative texts. In adopting this methodology my claim is to complement and enrich, not replace, more traditional historical and philological approaches. As to whether these aims have been fulfilled (pūrṇārtbāḥ), that judgement I leave to the reader.

What I do not pretend to have achieved is a definitive or exhaustive analysis. Indeed, I have not attempted to examine every aspect of the narrative nor every issue it raises. To take only one obvious example, I have said little about the portrayal of women in the Pūrṇāvadāna. This is not because I regard this dimension of the narrative as uninteresting or unimportant. If anything, it is because there is so much to be said and so much historical and literary context, still little explored, which must first be taken into account. To any reader it will be evident that the theme of feminine perfidy – attributed to women who are not even granted a name – is essential to the plot. Our author employs the stereotype of petty, jealous, ambitious wives manipulating their weak, feckless husbands. At the same time, the husbands, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, who according to this same stereotype have authority over their wives, are, if anything, more culpable, for they are serving their own greed and jealousy as much as deferring to their wives – Lady Macbeth planted in her husband's heart the seeds of murder and treason, but Macbeth himself nourished and matured them.

One might also detect a devaluation of women in the Buddha's conversions. Of the women he instructs – the goddess of the Jeta Grove, the five hundred matrons and Maudgalyāyana's mother – all become lay disciples and Stream-Enterers, the first and lowest of the four degrees of sanctity. Of the men – the five hundred sages and the lone sage Vakkalin – all request and receive ordination, with the ṛṣis becoming Non-Returners and Vakkalin an arhat. Does this reflect devaluation of women in general and their spiritual capacity in particular, a theme well-represented in the canonical literature?[1] Or is our tale simply reflecting typical circumstances in first-to-fourth-century India? Possibly both.

Comparing the text of the Pūrṇāvadāna with the Pūrṇāvadāna in art raises issues which are not unrelated. It is notable that the frescoes at Ajaṇṭā, quite near the site of ancient Sūrpāraka, and those at Kizil in Central Asia, feature women far more prominently than the narrative texts which inspired them.[2] All the characters of the story are depicted, but

many more as well: servants and masters, onlookers and devotees, deities and monsters. The painted scenes positively teem with life, female no less than male. Is it significant that the paintings date from the fifth and sixth centuries while our text is as old as the first? Are these striking differences purely or largely a function of the different artistic media? Or is it that the painters – who may not have been monastics – portray aspects of Buddhist (and Indian) culture which monastic authors writing in Sanskrit de-emphasized or ignored?

To take but one example, in the text of the Pūrṇāvadāna, after the slave-girl gives birth to Pūrṇa, she is never mentioned again. Does Bhava send her away after he hands Pūrṇa over to the eight nurses? Does she lose her child but begin a new life as a free woman? Does she remain in Bhava's home as a concubine, or as his second wife? Our author does not concern himself with answers to such questions. The painters, however, do. In at least one cave-painting, both Pūrṇa's mother and the mother of the three older sons stand at Bhava's side as he exhorts Bhavila to always take care of Pūrṇa.[3] Do such scenes qualify as evidence that the painters who worked from the text had a different view of women than the author of the avadāna or that they portrayed a more comprehensive view of the social realities of their time?[4]

It is satisfying to observe that since the original version of this study was approved as a master's thesis almost a decade ago, scholarly interest in Buddhist narrative and particularly in women in Buddhist narrative has grown apace. To mention only a few: Frank Reynold's continuing work on the biography of the Buddha in Theravādin sources;[5] numerous editions and translations of Buddhist kāvya by Michael Hahn and Ratna Handurukande;[6] John Strong's many articles and in particular his book on the arhat Upagupta;[7] Gregory Schopen's illuminating readings of numerous Vinaya passages;[8] Sally Mellick Cutler's editions and translations of Pāli Apadāna stories,[9] Jonathan Walters' penetrating study of the early Pāli Buddha-biographies and his work on the Buddha's foster-mother Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī;[10] Liz Wilson's study of the depersonalization and objectification of women in Buddhist hagiographical texts;[11] Steven Collins' examination of systematic and narrative thought in Theravādin sources;[12] William Pruitt's new edition and translation of the Therīgāthā Commentary[13] even my own textual and historical work on the legend of the Buddha's wife in late mediaeval Nepal.[14]

Be that as it may, considering the amount of material available – albeit much in Sanskrit and Pāli still unpublished or untranslated and much in Chinese translation ignored, at least by Western scholars – the work has just begin. There are even single passages, such as the one in the Mākandikāvadāna,[15] published more than a century ago, which positively cry out for informed, sensitively contextualized discussion. Lay-women reading and copying out Buddhist scripture? Is this mere literary embellishment, the imagery of piety? Does it depict activities which were typical of upper-class Buddhist homes in ancient India? Does this tiny literary vignette represent for us, if only for a moment, something of the lives of actual women whose names are recorded in donative inscriptions all over India?

To address such questions and issues – and, I am convinced, to discover many more –

requires first and foremost that we begin to study Buddhist narrative with the view that it is one of the essential sources for our understanding of the tradition. Even if one's interests are purely historical, a single article like Walters' study of the early Theravādin Buddha-biographies[16] demonstrates that, when examined together with inscriptional evidence, these legendary and mythological narratives can bring us much closer to the lived experience of ancient Indian Buddhists than any number of doctrinal sūtras and śāstras. In the case of many sources,[17] this means that someone must first undertake to edit and publish them, a kind of scholarship which many university departments, particularly in North America, devalue or actively discourage. In the case of other sources, such as the vast Pāli commentarial literature[18] and the numerous Buddha-biographies and story-collections preserved only in Chinese,[19] these await translators and interpreters. Even more than wishing to promote my particular methodological model, it is my hope that this small study stimulates others' interest in Buddhist narrative, both within and without the canonical sources.

The Pūrṇāvadāna is in many ways a highly conventional tale. Its first, 'secular' half is composed in a simple folk-tale style; its second, 'religious' half is replete with stock descriptions and quotations from other Buddhist texts. It is nevertheless a complex literary work which employs many of the same artful strategies of language and composition associated with the classics of Western literature and, more recently, with Biblical narrative. If this is accepted, even if its possibility is admitted, the procedure becomes straightforward (though not necessarily simple or easy): a literary work requires literary analysis. And that same kind of analysis may be applied to other Buddhist narrative works or episodes: other avadānas, the often closely-related stories found in the Pāli commentaries, and a variety of sūtras, both mainstream and Mahāyāna. As Woodward has shown for the Theravādin tradition, narrative does not, as many scholars have hitherto assumed, function as a 'popular' substitute for the doctrinal and philosophical: the two modes reciprocally constitute and validate each other.[20]

It is by conceptualizing the Pūrṇāvadāna as a discrete whole, a unique and irreducible linguistic-narrative construct, and as the inheritor of earlier narrative traditions, and as a product of extrinsic social and religious forces, that we can most fully understand it. As I have attempted to show, even where the text is clearly 'stitched together', a patchwork of narrative segments and conventional formulae taken from other sources, it can turn out that the author has quite deliberately adapted earlier material for his own purposes. Conventionality does not preclude creativity, nor do ancient Indian notions of 'originality' necessarily correspond very closely to our own. Nor is it surprising that with respect to these 'least original' aspects of the text that literary and historical-textual approaches can be most reciprocally illuminating.

For scholars primarily interested in, say, the development of Buddhist doctrine or other aspects of religious history, to treat the Pūrṇāvadāna or any other narrative as raw material for their researches remains a perfectly valid and valuable enterprise. Yet such scholars risk oversimplified, even distorted conclusions if they are content to extract doctrinal or historical data without taking into account the narrative context, for very often it is this context which determines the broader implications – and therefore the true

import – of a given statement or passage. To appreciate the advances in understanding which may be achieved when a historian is willing to attend scrupulously to narrative detail, one need only consult Schopen's illuminating interpretations of the realia of monastic life as recorded in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya[21] or consider Richard Gombrich's argument that the Aggañña-sutta is less "the Buddha's Book of Genesis" than a cleverly-wrought satire of Brahmanical creation myths.[22]

Even where a theme such as the operation of karma is patently obvious, there is a crucial difference between recognizing its presence or importance and explicating the manifold strategies by which it is articulated. When not simply ignored, avadānas have been labelled 'karma-tales' as if such a rubric were fully explanatory. Our reading of the Pūrṇāvadāna demonstrates in some detail that while the doctrine of karma is an essential theme, it is but one of a number, and that the central project of the text lies elsewhere. Narrative is a mode of communication and of knowledge in its own right, distinct from logical, linear argumentation and propositional reasoning. One cannot apply the same criteria to a story as to a treatise or a philosophical dialogue. Here we must recall Saṅgharakṣita's "two modes for the communication of religious truths" and Bruner's distinction between narrative and paradigmatic thought and their literary analogues.

In some sense the plot, i.e., sequence of events, in a narrative work is a linear construct, but, as I have sought to show, narrative simultaneously employs the almost limitless resources of implication, allusion, symbolic action, allegory and so on, which cannot be construed in the same way. A narrative work establishes the totality of its meaning by constructing a number of meaning patterns in the telling of one sequence of events. While a philosophical work typically seeks to eliminate polysemy in order to establish one determinate meaning, a narrative work typically exploits polysemy in order to establish the richest possible texture of meaning. This is one of the bases for distinguishing between reason and imagination, the abstract and the concrete, the theoretical and the existential, philosophy and art.[23]

As the Buddha declares in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, "men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable".[24]

In works like the Pūrṇāvadāna, Buddhists sought to dramatize, 'flesh out', the values of their tradition, to show how the Three Jewels made a difference – or ought to make a difference – in people's lives. Buddhist scripture repeatedly makes the point that the Buddha never conceived his teaching as yet another system of abstract, speculative philosophy, which is all too often how it is studied by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. It was meant to be lived; or, to adapt the well-known expression, it was meant to 'get you where you live.' Whatever we may think of monks cavorting in mid-air, of wooden buildings transubstantiated into crystal or of mind-fueled travel to other worlds, these are among the devices which our author chose to portray the establishment of the Buddhist tradition in one community.

Of course the avadānas are not historical documents, though as I have pointed out in a number of places, they may contain or confirm historically valuable information. Whether conceived as historicized fiction, fictionalized history, legend or myth – or some

compound of these – they are literary fictions and we do a disservice to our own powers of understanding to ignore this fact. As a work of narrative fiction, the Pūrṇāvadāna generates its themes through the complex interplay of the myriad devices characteristic of literary works. It is these which constitute the work to a greater or lesser extent as an "interconnected unity".[25] What comes of reading the Pūrṇāvadāna in the light of such presuppositions I have recorded in the preceding pages. Some recapitulation may now be in order.

We have examined such elements as the 'allegory of the names' and the complex of meanings centred around mahāsamudra, 'great ocean.' We have observed that Pūrṇa's life-history articulates a refutation of the charge that the institution of the Buddhist Order destroys families. We have noted that in its own 'mercantile idiom' the story continues the perennial Buddhist theme that personal worth and religious status are measured by actions (virtue) rather than birth (social class). A series of allusions places the lives of Pūrṇa and, rather less forcefully, Bhavila, in the larger context of the great culture heroes of the Indian tradition. The text implicitly raises the question, germaine to the study of Buddhist doctrine, of whether karma operates only from life to life or also within a single life. The broad context within which all the foregoing are presented is that of the development of Pūrṇa as the spiritual hero through whom the Buddhist community of Sūrpāraka is able to authenticate its particular Dharma tradition by tracing its spiritual lineage directly back to the Buddha himself. Closely connected with this are intimations of the development of a Pūrṇa-cult.

Close reading has also demonstrated that what tends to be dismissed as the mere moralizing function of the story of the past is in fact linked by numerous details to Pūrṇa's character and actions in the story of the present. Similarly, while scholars have characterized the avadāna literature as representing a transitional stage between mainstream and Mahāyāna doctrine,[26] literary analysis confirms these very general observations by specifying concrete details in the Pūrṇāvadāna and thereby raises the whole issue of the relation – genetic? generic? – between the avadānas and such sūtras as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. A literary reading also emboldened us to suggest that the action of the story resonates even beyond its closing sentence. Finally, the Pūrṇāvadāna provides us with an example of how a mercantile community, dedicated to the acquisition of wealth, might celebrate a renunciate tradition without calling into question its own values.

To this reader, at least, just eighteen pages of Sanskrit text [27] have proven to be a rich source for ancient Buddhists' attitudes toward their tradition, its history and its place in the rest of their lives. If the study of doctrinal and philosophical texts informs us about the thought of an ancient tradition the study of narrative texts embodies it for us. This is possible in part because 'unpacking' narrative discourse reveals its power to simultaneously and successively develop several domains of meaning. Through its distinctive strategies the literary work can lead us into a whole world of meaning and implication, yet without appearing arcane or cryptic. Indeed, it is the ease with which the reader follows narrative that may lead him or her to overlook its richness.

This study has thus been an attempt to enter and explore a world – that 'virtual world'

which is the world of the work. The Pūrṇāvadāna is not only a world of linear successive action, of cause-and-effect, but a world of interrelatedness, a many-layered, textured, dynamic, resonant, living world, in which – as Buddhist thinkers long ago insisted and with which modern thinkers are beginning to concur – every event potentially or actually influences every other. Paul Ricoeur has described the process of textual interpretation as the coming together of two horizons of meaning and understanding – that of the world of the reader and that of the world of the work.[28] The study of ancient Buddhist narrative provides rich material for such hermeneutical reflection, for one must 'learn a world' in order to make fullest sense of a text. Buddhist doctrine and technical terminology, Indian history and geography, social customs and organization, economic life, non-Buddhist religious traditions and customs, Indian and Buddhist literary history – in order to do justice to the text, the reader of the Pūrṇāvadāna must come equipped with a knowledge of all these fields. Hence the convergence or complementarity of literary and historical-textual approaches. Hence the extensive annotation which could be expanded almost indefinitely. Hence the necessity to combine all this with patient, attentive, close reading. The analyzing and synthesizing mind of the interpreter transmutes the work (the text) and the world (the totality of historical, 'extrinsic' information) into the world of the work.

As will be apparent from the foregoing, there can be no fully competent reader or reading, interpreter or interpretation of the Pūrṇāvadāna (or of any other literary work). The more distant a work's origin in time, space and cultural context, the narrower the limits to our understanding, the wider the scope for misreading, misinterpretation. There are the vagaries of textual transmission, the huge gaps in our knowledge of ancient Indian cultural and literary history, the possibility that what we judge to be important, impressive or sophisticated (or the opposite) the contemporary audience found trivial, unremarkable or crudely obvious (or the opposite). Yet, in this, literary analysis is not so different from any other effort of understanding: always imperfect, always improvable, always striving toward a theoretically possible, though practically unattainable, ideal.

In this study I have aimed less at producing a virtuoso interpretive performance than at demonstrating the utility and value of the approach I have chosen. In this connection, it is also important that the Pūrṇāvadāna, as it is found in the Divyāvadāna, is only one version of the story. Although at points I judged it usesful to refer to other versions, I have deliberately focussed as much as possible on the text itself. In the Appendices I offer translations of four other versions. Two are from the Theravādin commentaries and appear to represent earlier strata of the tradition from which the Pūrṇāvadāna derives. One, Kṣemendra's poetic epitome of the Pūrṇāvadāna (or of a text almost identical to it), shows how a cosmopolitan Kashmiri poet of the eleventh century, who himself was not a Buddhist, interpreted our text. And one, translated from the Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (T 1425), represents a narrative tradition strikingly different from the others. Of course, as pointed out in the Introduction, five versions of the story of Pūrṇa of Sūrpāraka hardly exhaust the available material. Schlingloff's translation from the Chinese version of the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish[29] will soon be published as will Willemen's from the Dharmapādāvadāna.

These considerations point to a new direction of study in connection with our text, one

that partakes of both 'extrinsic' and 'intrinsic' approaches, that deals with both text and context. They point to much grander project than that attempted in this study – the writing of a literary history of the Pūrṇa legend – but one which grounds itself solidly in the close reading of individual texts. A study of accounts of Pūrṇa's life in the major canonical languages would afford ample opportunity for close reading, comparative literary analysis and historical-textual research. Philologist, historian, Buddhologist, folklorist and literary critic could work hand-in-hand to trace and analyze the life of Pūrṇa as it has been celebrated in Buddhist tradition. Yet a more important development by far would be for scholars to begin to routinely apply the methods of literary understanding to the immense Indian Buddhist textual tradition as a whole, that which, together with architectural and epigraphical evidence, constitute the foundation for all our investigations.

And so we see that this study has merely shown us that there are many worlds and many works left to discover.

Notes

1 On women in the early sūtra literature as 'the snares of Māra', see Paul 1985. If the eleventh-century Avalokitasimha's arrangement of the verses on 'disgust for women' (strījugupsā) from the second-to-third-century Saddharmasmṛtyu-pasthāna Sūtra are any indication, over the course of the first millennium such misogyny may have intensified: see Dharmasamuccaya (ed.-tr. Lin et al), Pt. 2, Ch. IX, pp. 250–294.

2 See Yadzani 1933: II 45–49 with Plates XLII–XLIV; Schlingloff 1989, 1991.

3 Schlingloff 1991: figure 3, scene 6.

4 With regard to these and other questions concerning Buddhist narrative painting, the publication of Schlingloff 1998 is eagerly awaited.

5 Frank Reynolds, "Rebirth Traditions and the Lineages of Gotama: A Study in Theravāda Buddhology," ed. Juliane Schober, Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 19–39.

6 For a survey of the works of two important Buddhist poets, Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta, with an extensive bibliography of texts, translations and studies, supplemented with text-editions of representative stories, see Hahn 1992.

7 See Bibliography.

8 For which see almost any chapter in Schopen 1997.

9 Sally Mellick (Cutler), ed.-tr., 'Yasodhara therī-apadāna', in A Critical Edition, with Translation, of Selected Portions of the Pāli Apadāna, D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1993, Pt. II, pp. 527–590.

10 Jonathan S. Walters, "A Voice from the Silence: The Buddha's Mother's Story," History of Religions 33, May 1994, pp. 358–379; tr., 'Gotamī's Story', ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., Buddhism in Practice, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, pp. 113–138; also Walters 1997.

11 Liz Wilson, Charming Cadavers: Horrific Figurations of the Feminine in Indian Buddhist Hagiographic Literature, Chicago: The University Press, 1996.

12 Steven Collins, Nirvāṇa and other Buddhist Felicities, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 497–554, 627–634. I regret that this publication came into my hands too late to make much use of the author's extensive theoretical discussions of systematic and narrative thought.

13 William Pruitt, ed. Therīgāthā Commentary, Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1997; tr., The Commentary on the Verses of the Therīs, Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1998.

14 Joel Tatelman, The Trials of Yaśodharā: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study of Bhadrakalpāvadāna II–V , D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1997. For a detailed synopsis of Bhadrakalpāvadāna II–IX, see "The Trials of Yasodhara and the Birth of Rāhula," Buddhist Studies Review 15, 1998, no. 1, pp. 1–42; annotated translations of Chapters II & III will appear in the inaugural issue of the journal Buddhist Literature.

15 api tv etā dārikā rātrau pradīpena buddhavacanaṃ paṭhanti atra bhūrjena prayojanaṃ tailena masinā kalamaya tulena (Divy, ed. Vaidya, 457.17–18).

16 Walters 1997.

17 See, for example, in Hahn's (1985: 'Einleitung', pp. 10–22) bibliography of Buddhist story-literature, how many titles remain largely or entirely in manuscript. For additional references and discussion, see Tatelman 1997: Pt. II, pp. vi ff.
18 In this connection, one can only applaud the continuing work of the Pali Text Society and the Buddhist Publication Society. However, most of the Pāli commentaries, where the Theravādin tradition has preserved much of the literature which corresponds to the Sanskrit avadānas, await translation and study.
19 See, for example, the eleven Buddha-biographies, translated into Chinese between the second and tenth centuries, which have been little studied and which still await translation into Western languages (Lamotte 1988: 654 ff.).
20 Woodward 1997.
21 Schopen 1997 and additional articles cited therein.
22 Gombrich 1992.
23 For a succinct discussion of these points, see Ricoeur 1973.
24 Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (ed. Vaidya) 51.15, tr. Kern 72.
25 Alter 1981: 11.
26 Winternitz 1933: 277, Weeraratne 1966: 397, Strong 1983: 37, Hirakawa 1990: 262–269.
27 In Vaidya's edition.
28 Ricoeur 1974–75: 106–110.
29 Hsien-yü-ching or Damamūkanidāna Sūtra. See Dieter Schlingloff, "Pūrṇa," Erzählende Wandmalereien: Ajaṇṭā-Handbuch der Malereien, Part 1, vol. II, pp. 38–60 (T 202, vol. IV, pp. 393c2–379a23), Munich (forthcoming). I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Schlingloff for his kindness in sending me a typescript of this work and for providing me with offprints of other of his publications.

Appendix One

Exposition of the Discourse on the Exhortation of Puṇṇa (Puṇṇovādasuttavaṇṇanā)[1]

The sutta reads, "And then the Venerable Puṇṇa...."[2] Who, then, is this Puṇṇa? And, moreover, why does he wish to leave this place? He is a native of Sunāparanta and, finding that living in Sāvatthi is unsuitable [for him], he wishes to leave that place. Here follows the progressive instruction (anupubbikatbā).[3]

In the kingdom of Sunāparanta, in a certain village of merchants, lived two brothers. Sometimes the elder of the two would take five hundred wagons and travel through the country, collecting trade-goods; on other occasions, it would be the younger.

Now on this particular occasion, the elder brother had the younger remain at home, took five hundred wagons and, travelling across the country, in due course reached Sāvatthi. There he halted the caravan for the night not far from the Jeta Grove. [In the morning], he ate breakfast, then, together with his retinue, sat down in a pleasant spot.

At that time, some residents of Sāvatthi, having eaten their breakfasts, undertook to observe the Uposatha precepts (uposathaṅgāni): wearing clean garments, carrying in their hands perfumes, flowers [and other offerings], bent on, directed toward, and intent on the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, they left the city by the southern gate and proceeded to the Jeta Grove.

Seeing them, Puṇṇa asked one man, "Where are these people going?"

"Don't you know, sir? Those treasures – the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha – have arisen in the world. Therefore this large company of people is going to hear a talk on Dhamma in the presence of the Teacher."

That word, 'Awakened One' (buddha), penetrated Puṇṇa's skin and flesh, through to his bones and into the marrow. So he, too, accompanied by his retinue, proceeded to the monastery (vihāra) with that company. [There], in a mellifluous voice, the Teacher was expounding the doctrine (dhamma). Puṇṇa stationed himself at the edge of the assembly and as he listened to the Dhamma the resolution arose in his mind to take up the religious life. When the Tathāgata, knowing the time was right, dismissed the assembly, Puṇṇa approached the Teacher, made reverent salutation, and invited him [to receive alms] on the following day.

The following day, after setting up a pavilion (maṇḍapa), he assigned seating [to the invited guests] and gave munificent alms to the Order headed by the Buddha. Then Puṇṇa [himself] ate breakfast, and after taking upon himself the Uposatha precepts, called for his treasurer (bhaṇḍāgārika) to whom he made a full accounting: "These wares have already been sold (vissajjita); these [others] have not. He entrusted everything [to

the man], saying, "Give this property to my younger brother."

Then Puṇṇa took ordination (pabbajitvā) in the presence of the Teacher and devoted himself to [meditation on] a [specific] meditation-object.[4] But although he focussed his attention on the meditation-object, he was unable to properly concentrate.[5] Then he thought, "This country is not suitable for me. Suppose now I obtain a meditation-object from the Teacher and then return to my own land."

And so, the following morning, he went for alms, [practised meditation all day], and in the evening, emerged from seclusion. Then Puṇṇa approached the Lord and got the Lord to assign him a [new] meditation-object, after which seven times he roared a lion's roar and then set out [for Sunāparanta].

[Here] the sutta states, "Then, wandering by stages, he eventually arrived in the Sunāparanta country...."[6] Where [in Sunāparanta], then, did Puṇṇa live? [The answer is that] he lived in four different places.

When he [first] arrived in the Sunāparanta country, Puṇṇa stayed for the night on Mount Ambahaṭṭha,[7] then entered a village of merchants for alms. There his younger brother recognized him, gave him alms [and said], "Venerable, do not go elsewhere; live right here." And by inducing Puṇṇa to promise [to do so], his younger brother got him to stay [for a time] in that very place.

From there, Puṇṇa went to Samuddagiri Monastery. There he marked out [an area] with pieces of lodestone and practised walking-up-and-down [meditation]. But it was impossible to practise walking meditation there, for at that spot the ocean waves came rolling in, crashing against the [pieces of] lodestone and making a great noise. [Declaring], "Let this be a pleasant dwelling-place for senior monks (thera) to concentrate on meditation-objects," Puṇṇa, [using his psychic powers], rendered the ocean silent and continued his meditation practice.

From there, Puṇṇa went to [a place] called Mount Mātula. In that place, which was densely inhabited by a huge flock of birds, there was constant noise night and day. The Elder thought, "This place is unpleasant; therefore I shall go to the Makulārāma[8] Monastery." This place was neither too near nor too far from a village of merchants, suitable for coming and going, [yet] secluded and free from noise. The Elder, [declaring], "This is a pleasant spot," had [covered] walkways constructed for the practice of walking meditation both by day and by night and stayed there for the rains retreat.

Thus Puṇṇa dwelt in four places.

Then, one day during that same rainy season, a [company of] five hundred merchants, saying, "Let us cross the great ocean," loaded trade-goods into a ship. When the day came to board ship, the Elder [Puṇṇa's] younger brother gave him alms, took [upon himself] the precepts [sikkhāpada] in the Elder's presence, saluted [him] reverently and, as he was departing, said, "Venerable, the great ocean is indeed not to be trusted. Please protect us from its many dangers." He then boarded ship.

Proceeding with the utmost speed, the ship [soon] reached an island. [Declaring], "We'll make breakfast," the men landed on the island. There was nothing on the island other than a forest of sandal trees. One [man] chopped down a tree with an axe and, realizing that it was red sandalwood (lohitacandana), declared, "Hey! We have crossed

the ocean in order to acquire wealth [and] there is indeed no wealth greater than this! A small branch, four fingers in length, is worth a hundred thousand! Let us jettison the trade-goods which, properly, are to be disposed of, and fill [the ship] with sandalwood." And that is just what they did.

The non-humans (amanussā) who dwelt in the sandalwood forest were furious. They thought, "These people have ruined our sandalwood forest! We should kill them [all]!" Then they said, "[But] if they are killed right here [on the island], the entire forest will become [as] a single corpse. Let us [instead] sink their ship in the middle of the ocean."

Then when the merchants boarded their vessel – at that very moment, those non-humans raised a tempest (uppādikaṃ uṭṭhāpetvā) and revealed their [true], terrible forms. Terrified, the men prayed to their respective deities. The Elder's younger brother Cullapuṇṇa, [now] the head of the family (kuṭumbika), cried out, "May my brother protect me!," and went on invoking his brother's name.

As for the Elder, at that very moment he directed his attention [to them] and, realizing that a calamity had befallen them, flew up into the air and appeared before those merchants. Seeing the Elder, the non-humans [exclaimed], "The noble Puṇṇa has come!," and fled.

Puṇṇa calmed the tempest (uppādikaṃ sannisīdi) and said [to the merchants], "Fear not!" He filled them with relief by asking, "Where do you wish to go?"

"Venerable, let us return to our own country," they replied. The Elder approached the ship from the shore and entered into concentration: "Let this ship be transported to the place these men desire [to go]!"

Transported [back] to their own country, the merchants related these events to their wives and children, [saying], "Come! Let us go for refuge to the Elder [Puṇṇa]." Then those five hundred [merchants] and their womenfolk, established in the Three Refuges, made it known that they had become lay-disciples.

The merchants then unloaded the merchandise[9] from the ship and setting aside one portion [of it], said, "Venerable, this is your share."

Said the Elder, "I have no need for a separate share. Have you ever seen the Teacher?"

"We have never seen the Teacher, Venerable."

"In that case, use this [sandalwood] to build a circular pavilion (maṇḍalamāla) for the Teacher and then you shall see him."

The merchants replied, "Very well, Venerable," and with his and their own shares they undertook the construction of the circular pavilion.

As for the Teacher, he made use [of the pavilion] from the moment construction was begun: [at the work-site], the watchmen thought the effulgence they observed at night was due to the presence of a powerful divinity.

The lay-disciples furnished the hall with beds and seats for the community of monks and supplied all the [other] requisite donations,[10] then informed the Elder: "Venerable, we have completed the work. Will you [now] invite the Teacher?"

That evening, the Elder flew to Sāvatthi by means of his psychic powers and made this request of the Lord: "Venerable, the inhabitants of a village of merchants desire to see you. May you have compassion for them!" The Lord consented. Knowing that the Lord

had consented, the Elder returned to Sunāparanta.

[Meanwhile], the Lord summoned the Elder Ānanda: "Ānanda, tomorrow we shall go for alms to a village of merchants in Sunāparanta. Distribute meal-tickets (salākā) to five hundred monks less one."

Replied the Elder, "Very well, Venerable." Ānanda then announced this plan to the community of monks, saying, "Monks, let those who are going for alms take a meal-ticket."[11] That day the Elder Kuṇḍadhāna was the first to take a meal-ticket.[12]

Meanwhile, the residents of that merchants' village [exulted]: "Tomorrow the Teacher will arrive!" In the centrę of the village they erected a tent and prepared it to serve as a pavilion for almsgiving.[13]

Early the next morning, the Lord attended to his bodily needs, then entered his perfumed chamber (gandhakuṭī), and for some time applied himself to the stages of meditation and [their] fruits.[14] The pink stone [which served as] Sakka's throne[15] become red-hot. Noticing this, and thinking, "What's this?," Sakka saw that the teacher was going to Sunāparanta. So Sakka summoned Vissakamma: "My son, today the Lord will be travelling one hundred and thirty leagues to receive alms. Fashion five hundred peaked kiosks (kūṭāgāra) and place them, ready for his departure, on top of the gateway to the Jeta Grove Monastery." This Vissakamma did. The Lord's kiosk had four entrances, those of his two chief disciples, two entrances, and those of the rest [of the monks], one entrance.

Leaving his perfumed chamber, the Teacher entered each kiosk one after the other and then entered the first kiosk. Beginning with the two chief disciples, the five hundred monks less one each entered the other kiosks, leaving one empty. Then the five hundred kiosks rose up into the sky. On reaching Mount Saccabandha, the Teacher halted his kiosk in the air. On that mountain dwelt an ascetic named Saccabandha. He was a professor of false doctrines (micchādiṭṭhika), and by teaching those false doctrines to many people, had acquired great wealth and great fame. Yet within him (assa antocāṭiyam), like a lamp in a pot, shone the basis for arahantship.

Seeing him and thinking, "I shall talk to him of Dhamma," [the Lord] went to Saccabandha and expounded the Dhamma. At the conclusion of his discourse, that ascetic attained arahantship and thereby also attained supernormal powers. "Come, monk," he was told and, equipped with a robe and a bowl created by [the Lord's] psychic power, he entered the [five hundredth] kiosk. Then, accompanied by the five hundred monks in their kiosks, the Lord proceeded to the merchants' village, and rendering the kiosks invisible, entered the village.

The merchants gave munificent alms to the community of monks headed by the Buddha and [then] conducted the Teacher to the Makulakārāma [Monastery]. The Teacher entered the circular pavilion. As soon as the Teacher had eased his bodily fatigue, the crowd of people ate their breakfast, [after which] they undertook [to observe] the Uposatha-precepts, and with many perfumes and flowers returned to the monastery to hear the Dhamma. [Then] the Teacher expounded the Dhamma and brought about the people's release from bondage. The crowd hailed the Buddha with great fervour.[16] In order to show favour to the crowd, the Teacher stayed there in the

Great Perfumed Chamber[17] for the rest of that day and until dawn the following morning. While staying there for the day, he went into the merchants' village for alms but sent the Elder Puṇṇa back, [saying], "You should reside right here."

Nearby flowed the Nammadā River, down to the bank of which the Teacher went. The serpent-king of the Nammadā came out to receive the Teacher and conducted him into his realm, [where] he paid reverence to the Three Jewels. The Teacher instructed him in the Dhamma and departed from the serpent-realm.

"Grant me, Venerable, something to worship," entreated the serpent-king. The Lord caused a relic in the form of a footprint (pādaceṭiya) to appear on the bank of the Nammadā River. Covered up as the waves came in and revealed as they receded, it became an important place of worship.

After leaving that place, the Teacher proceeded to Mount Saccabandha, where he said to the [ascetic] Saccabandha, "You have sent many people along the path to evil rebirths (apāyamagga). [Now], dwelling in this very place, you must divest them of wrong views and set them on the path to Nibbāna." As for Saccabandha, he, too, asked [the Buddha] for an object of worship. The Teacher caused a relic in the form of a footprint (pādaceṭiya) to appear in the solid rock as [easily as] if he were making an impression in a mound of fresh mud. Then he returned to the Jeta Grove. This is the meaning (attha) of the passage [in the sutta] which begins "during that very rainy season" (ten' ev' antaravas-senā ti ādi vuttaṃ).[18]

"He passed finally away" (parinibbāyi) means that Puṇṇa passed finally away into the element of Nibbāna without remaining substrate. The people performed worship of the Elder's body for seven days, then gathered a great quantity of fragrant wood, cremated the body, and installed the remains in a relic-shrine (cetiya).

"Many monks" (sambahulā bhikkhū) refers to the monks present at the Elder's cremation. Thus the remainder [of the sutta] has been entirely explained.

Notes

1 Papañcasūdanī (= MA) v.85.22–92.17. The first part of the commentary (MA v.84.12–85.21) definēs technical terms which occur in the Buddha's actual doctrinal address to Puṇṇa (MN iii.267.1–269.18); here I translate only the narrative portion.

2 Cf. MN iii.269.19 ff. (tr. MLD 1119.): "Then, having delighted and rejoiced in the Blessed One's words, the venerable Puṇṇa rose from his seat, and after paying homage to the Blessed One, departed keeping him on his right. He then set his resting place in order, took his bowl and outer robe, and set out to wander towards the Sunāparanta country".

3 Cf. MN i.379 (tr. MLD 485): 'Then the Blessed One gave the householder Upāli progressive instruction, that is, talk on giving, talk on virtue, talk on the heavens; he explained the danger, degradation, and defilement in sensual pleasures and the blessing of renunciation.' Thus we find that the 'progressive' or 'gradual' instruction (anupubbikathā, Skt. anupūrvikathā) is in fact a biographical narrative.

4 On the forty objects, or 'working-grounds' (kammaṭṭhāna), for meditation, see Visuddhimagga (ed. Warren-Kosambi 1950, tr. Ñāṇamoli 1964) III–IX.

5 ath'assa kammaṭṭhānaṃ manasikarontassa kammaṭṭhānaṃ na upaṭṭhāti.

6 So MN iii.270 (§ 7), tr. MLD 1119.

7 SA ii.376 reads 'Mount Abbhahatthi'.

8 SA ii.376 reads 'Maṅkula'.

9 Which, as we recall, now consists entirely of extremely valuable sandalwood.

10 I.e., blankets, cushions, food, etc.

11 The text actually reads, "Let those monks who are not going for alms take a meal-ticket" (na piṇḍāya cārikā bhikkhū salākaṃ gaṇhantū ti. However, narrative sense requires that we regard the negative as a corruption.

12 On Kuṇḍadhāna/Koṇḍadhāna in Theravādin sources, see AN i.24, Ap 81 ff., AA i.265–266, MN i.462, DhpA iii.52–58.

13 gāmamajjhe maṇḍapaṃ katvā dānaggaṃ sajjayiṃsu.

14 phalasamāpattiṃ appetvā. For a description of the nine 'stages of meditation' (also: 'attainments', 'absorptions'), see MN i.159–160 (§§ 12–20), tr. MLD 250–252.

15 sakkassa paṇḍukambalasilāsanaṃ uṇham ahosi.

16 mahantaṃ buddhakolāhalaṃ ahosi.

17 mahāgandhakūti here refers to the maṇḍalamāla. On this, see Strong 1977.

18 Cf. MN iii.269.25–29 (tr. MLD 1119): "Then, during that Rains, the venerable Puṇṇa established five hundred men lay followers and five hundred women lay followers in the practice, and he himself realised the three true knowledges".

Appendix Two

Exposition of the Elder Puṇṇa's Verse (Puṇṇatheragāthāvaṇṇanā)[1]

"It is moral discipline (sīlam evā ti) ...". Thus [begins] the verse of the Venerable Puṇṇa. What [has been his] genesis (kā uppatti)? He, too,[2] served under previous Buddhas in various circumstances in conditioned existence (bhava), accumulating the wholesome [karma] which is the basis for escape from birth-and-death (vivaṭṭūpanissaya).

Ninety-one aeons ago, in an age when there was no Buddha in the world, he was reborn into a Brahmin family. When he came of age and had attained proficiency in the Brahmanical arts (brābmaṇasippa), he saw the danger in sensual desires, foresook the household life and went forth into the life of a wandering ascetic (tāpasapabbajjaṃ pabbajitvā). He built a leaf-hut in the Himālayas and there made his home.

Not far from his dwelling-place, in a mountain cave, a solitary Buddha (paccekabuddha) who had fallen ill attained final Nibbāna (parinibbāyi). At the time of that solitary buddha's final Nibbāna (tassa parinibbāna), a great light arose. Seeing this, the young ascetic thought, "How is it that this great light has been produced?" Wandering here and there under the influence of such thoughts, he came across, in his mountain cave, that solitary Buddha who had attained final Nibbāna (parinibbuta). He collected fragrant wood, cremated the body and sprinkled [the ashes] with scented water.

At that, a deity (devaputta), hovering in the sky, addressed him: "Well done! Well done, good fellow (sappurisa) ! You have generated much merit (puñña)! This deed (kamma), when fulfilled (puṇṇa), will lead to favourable rebirths (sugati). You will therefore be reborn only in good circumstances (sugatīsu yeva) and your name shall be Puṇṇa ('fulfilled')."

As a result of that meritorious deed (puññakamma), he took rebirth (saṃsaranto) [only] among gods and humans. [Then], during the lifetime of the present Buddha (imasmin buddhuppāde), he was reborn in the Sunāparanta country in the city of Suppāraka and was given the name Puṇṇa.

When he came of age, he travelled with a great caravan to Sāvatthi for purposes of trade. At that time, the Lord was staying in Sāvatthi. [After arriving in the city], Puṇṇa accompanied [a group of] residents of Sāvatthi who were lay-disciples to the monastery. After listening to the Dhamma in the presence of the Teacher, Puṇṇa acquired confidence (saddhā) [in the Three Jewels]. He then took up the religious life (pabbajitvā) and won over his teachers by [assiduously] performing his various duties.

One day Puṇṇa approached the Teacher and said, "Well would it be for me, Venerable, if the Lord were to exhort me with a brief exhortation, such that I, having listened to it,

could dwell in the Sunāparanta country.”

To him the Lord declared, “There are, Puṇṇa, forms which are cognizable by the eye. …”[3] And after delivering the exhortation which begins with these words and having inspired Puṇṇa to roar a lion’s roar, he dismissed him. Then Puṇṇa paid homage to the Lord, travelled to the Sunāparanta country and took up residence in Suppāraka City. There, by assiduously practising calming and insight meditation (samatha-vipassana), he realised the Triple Knowledge.

All this is told by Puṇṇa in the Apadāna –

1. “Sheltering in an alpine cave, the self-created[4] Aparājita, that Awakened One (buddha) who was ill, dwelt deep in the mountains.
2. “All at once a great clamour arose nearby my hermitage, [for] when the Awakened One attained final Nibbāna, a [great] light was produced.
3. “As many bears, wolves, hyenas, lions and other beasts of prey as there were [in the vicinity], they all came to the grove of trees [outside his cave].
4. “Seeing what was happening, I went to that cave, and there saw that the Fully Awakened One (saṃbuddha), Aparājita, had attained final Nibbāna.
5. “Like a king of sāl-trees in full bloom, like the risen hundred-rayed [sun], like coal burning without a flame, was that Aparājita who had attained final Nibbāna.
6. “I gathered grass and wood and made in that cave (tattha) a funeral pyre. And after constructing that well-fashioned pyre, I cremated his physical body.
7. “I cremated the body and sprinkled [the ashes] with scented water. Just then, a divinity (yakkha), standing in mid-air, called my name.
8. “‘Because of the service you fulfilled (pūrita) for that self-created, great saint (mahesi), your name, O sage, will always be Fulfiller (puṇṇaka).’
9. “After I passed away from that body, I was reborn in heaven, where celestial perfume permeated the air.[5]
10. “There, too, the name given [me] was Puṇṇaka. Both as a god and as a human I fulfilled [that divinity’s] prediction.[6]
11. “This is the last one – for me this is the final existence. In this life, too, Puṇṇaka is my name, the name by which I am known.[7]
12. “I have satisfied the Perfect Buddha Gotama, Bull of the Sakyas; because I have gained insight into [the nature] of all the taints (āsave pariññaya), I abide free from them (viharāmi anāsavo).
13. “Since I performed that [meritorious] deed, ninety-one aeons ago, I have not experienced a [single] bad rebirth – this[8] has been the result of that small service (tanukicca) ….[9]

To continue: After the Elder had attained arahanthip, he inspired many people with faith in the Teaching (sāsane abhippasādesi). As a result, five hundred men and five hundred women declared themselves lay-disciples. Puṇṇa had built in Suppāraka (tattha), out of red sandalwood (rattacandana), a Perfumed Chamber (gandhakūti) called the Sandalwood Pavilion (candanamāḷa). [Declaring], “Let the Teacher, accompanied by five

hundred monks, accept this pavilion [as a donation]," by using flowers as messengers, he invited the Lord [to come to Suppāraka]. And the Lord, by means of his psychic powers and by means of logic, came there, accompanied by five hundred monks. He accepted the Sandalwood Pavilion and then, at dawn [the next morning], arose and returned [to Sāvatthi].

On a later occasion, at the time of his final Nibbāna, the Elder declared his insight -

"In this life, moral discipline is highest, and insight supreme;
Among humans and gods, moral discipline and insight lead to victory."[10]

Such was the stanza he spoke.[11]

Notes

1 Paramatthadīpanī (Theragāthaṭṭhakathā), ed. Chaudhary 1976: 1.228.7–231.16. Unlike the PTS edition, the Nālandā edition incorporates the text of the Puṇṇatherāpadāna (Ap ii.341).

2 Referring to theras on whose verses the scholiast has already commented.

3 santi kho puṇṇa cakkhuviññeyya rūpā … In other words, the actual address of the Buddha to Puṇṇa found in the Puṇṇovāda Sutta (MN iii.267–279, tr. MLD 1117–1119).

4 For sayambbū, PED suggests 'self-dependent.' I translate more literally, but understand the sense, both in Pāli and English, to be figurative: a buddha or paccekabuddha 'creates' himself in the sense that, by attaining Awakening and freeing himself from further rebirth, he transcends both the human and divine states. See also verse 8 below.

5 Here reading antalikkhe pavāyati (PTS ed.) for antalikkhā pavāssati, 'rained from the sky' (Nālandā ed.).

6 saṅkappaṃ pūrayām ahaṃ.

7 idhāpi puṇṇako nāma namadheyyaṃ pakāsati. Cf. PTS ed.: idhāpi puṇṇako nāma nāmaṃ mahyaṃ paññāayati.

8 I.e., Puṇṇa's entire subsequent karmie career, culminating, in this final birth, with his training under the Buddha and arahantship.

9 In verses 14–16, the narrator adds the stock description of one who has attained arahantship.

10 sīlam eva idha aggaṃ paññavā pana uttamo / manussesu ca devesu sīlapaññāṇto jayaṃ ti //

11 The conclusion (ThagA i.231.4–16) consists of a word-commentary on this single stanza. It is purely doctrinal in content and is not translated here.

Appendix Three

The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa (Pūrṇāvadāna: Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā XXXVI)[1]

1. Although it grows surrounded by mud, the blossom of the water-lotus in the lotus-resplendent Lake of Heaven remains unbesmirched. So too, the circumstances of one's birth are never the cause of virtuous qualities, which are innate and forever within a person.
2. Formerly, while that wish-fulfilling tree, the Conqueror, absorbed in meditation for the welfare of all beings, was staying in the Jetavana Monastery in Śrāvastī,
3. There lived in the city called Śūrpāraka an eminent merchant (sārthapati) named Bhava, who possessed ocean-deep heaps of jewels and who was eminent among the wise.
4. He had by his wife Ketakī three sons, who were known as Bhavila, Bhavabhadra and Bhavanandin.
5. On one occasion, [when] illness brought him to the brink of death, he was neglected by his wife and sons, who were greatly alarmed at his abusive [language].
6. But he had a slave-girl named Mallikā, who was dedicated to his service and, through her care and devotion, he regained his health.
7. [Bhava], grateful [and] humbled by her loving care, was smitten. He made love to her at a time favourable for conception and fathered her son.
8. Because at the birth of that son all his father's aims were fulfilled, that boy, who was as beautiful as the full moon, was named Pūrṇa.
9. After the three elder [brothers] married, they set out on the ocean to seek their fortunes. Pūrṇa, however, earned money in his father's shop (bhāṇḍaśālā).
10. Time passed and the brothers, their fortunes made, returned from across the sea. They counted up their lakhs of gold and returned to their own city.
11. [Yet] as much was their income from travelling overseas, it was exceeded by the [value of the] wares in Pūrṇa's own home.
12. Seeing this, on the very next day[2] their aged father, imparted this good advice for their future: "Greed (tṛṣṇā) leads to all manner of loss (kṣaya).
13. "You, who have exhausted yourselves in making profits overseas, [now] see the [greater] wealth that Pūrṇa has earned – and with much less trouble.
14. "It is due to the ripening of wholesome karma that profits come to those who seek wealth: when [wealth] slips from one person's hand, another acquires what has fallen.
15. "In every case, the good acquire wealth by not forsaking the true path, by

discriminating between appropriate and inappropriate [ways of earning profits] and by thoroughly comprehending the correct time and place [for conducting business].

16. "Intelligent [men], who are devoted to Dharma, become wealthy [while remaining] in their own homes – others cross that jewel-mine, [the ocean], and place their lives at risk.
17. "By exerting themselves good [men] can comprehend the supreme secret knowledge of wealth (dhanasyopaniṣat parā): [only] for those independent ones whose intellects are purified and free from malice does wealth produce good fortune.
18. "[All of] you must guard against a break in the firm unity [of our family, for] prosperity trickles from a divided family like water from a cracked pot.
19. "Indeed, just as the flames of a fire die down when the coals are removed, so the prosperity of a large family disappears when those born into it are at odds with one another.
20. "How indeed can the constant bickering of [you] brothers be brought to an end? – [you] whom every night are instructed by your wives in the knowledge of hatred!
21. "Division does not arise among noble, self-controlled men until a woman, like the blade of an axe, penetrates their vitals.
22. "By harshly critisizing a brother's business dealings, by insults and abusive language, and by hankering after the same things, women lead friends into conflict.
23. "Even as they smile, with a meaningfully-arched eyebrow women say the very thing which causes the uprooting of the basis of affection among friends."
24. Soon after offering this valuable advice for his sons' benefit, Bhava, impelled by the impermanence [of all things] (anitya-tāpariyuktaḥ), went to his end.
25. While their wealth was still held in common, the elder [brothers] were successful at earning money abroad. Pūrṇa, however, [remained] at home, reflecting on what he had acquired (vittam acintayat).
26. In time, the brothers returned home, quarrelled over food and clothing and, [as a result of] heeding the counsel of their wives,[3] the break occurred.
27. Then, as they who had succumbed to the power of enmity were dividing the property [they had held in common], the brothers declared, "This [Pūrṇa] is the son of a slave-girl!," and deprived him of his share.
28. As for Pūrṇa, not long after that, he made his fortune (pūrṇadhanaḥ): he saw on the road a man laden with wood, insensible and shrunken with cold, even though [it was] in the heat of summer.
29. Pūrṇa purchased the load of wood from the man for the price of [ordinary] wood and [at once] saw that it was divine sandalwood (divyacandana), which imparts coolness even to that which is on fire.
30. By that exceedingly adroit transaction, Pūrṇa acquired great wealth and earned the service of caravan-leaders and the respect of the king.
31. Six times Pūrṇa undertook overseas trading expeditions, giving everything to those in need[4] and doing the favour of paying the ferry-tolls, customs charges and other expenses of all the merchants [with whom he travelled].
32. Entreated repeatedly by caravan-merchants from Śrāvastī, Pūrṇa boarded a ship and

quickly set out for Ocean Island (Samudradvīpa).

33. Then, as the ship was returning, he heard the merchants chanting the verses of Śaila and of the Elders which took the Well-Gone One as refuge (sthāvirāḥ śailagāthāḥ sugatasaṃśrayāḥ).
34. "Whose are these?," Pūrṇa asked them, and they all told him, "These verses were chanted by the Lord, the Wise One, the Awakened One."
35. Merely on hearing that title, 'The Awakened One', Pūrṇa was transported with joy: that already present in men's minds due to impressions left by previous deeds manifests itself [merely] when mentioned (purṃsāṃ svavāsanārūḍhaṃ vyaktim āyātyudīritam).
36. After listening to a narrative about the Lord, which those merchants related in great detail, Pūrṇa's heart went out to the Buddha and he became eager for the sight of him.
37. In due course, Pūrṇa reached home, [where] he dismissed his entire retinue[5] and journied to Śrāvastī to see his friend Anāthapiṇḍada.
38. Having spoken to him of his desire to go forth [into the homeless life], Pūrṇa, senses restrained and full of devotion, went with Anāthapiṇḍada into the presence of the Lord.
39. There, beholding the All-Knowing One who had transformed into day the night of delusion, Pūrṇa deemed that merely by the sight of His feet he had accomplished his task.
40. Perceiving his intention, the Lord spoke to Pūrṇa, illuminating the [ten] directions with the radiance of his smile –
41. "Come, monk! Practise the holy life for which you long[6] in [accordance with] the well-expounded Doctrine and Discipline, which are imperishable, free from uncertainty and beyond criticism."
42. When addressed thus by the Conqueror, whose character is of serene graciousness (prasādaśīla), the [marks of] going forth (pravrajyā), unnoticed [by Pūrṇa] (alakṣitā), suddenly appeared on his body.
43. Then, through impartiality toward friend and foe alike, he achieved equanimity, and after accepting instruction from the Teacher, prostrated before him and departed.
44. To test [the quality of] his own forebearance (kṣānti), Pūrṇa travelled with only a few companions to the land called Śroṇāparāntaka, the home of a cruel people.
45. There, a hunter, seeing the approach of one whose presence was inauspicious for hunting, drew his bow and, in a fury, charged with murderous intent.
46. But, beholding Pūrṇa, undistressed, unruffled, and without fear, saying, "[Go ahead], shoot!," he was pacified.
47. To him who was rapidly achieving calm, the gracious Pūrṇa expounded the Dharma, as a result of which the hunter, together with his companions, attained Awakening (bodhi).
48. In that [very] place the hunter built five hundred charming monastic residences (vihāra), furnished with all the requisites and worthy of the Well-Gone One (sugata) [himself].

49. As for Pūrṇa, who was perfected in wisdom (jñānasaṃpūrṇa) and who had become worthy of the worship of the Thirty-Three [Gods], he was endowed with the riches of detachment to which sages should aspire.
50. Some time thereafter, Pūrṇa's eldest brother Bhavila, his wealth exhausted, set out on the ocean in hope of making some money.
51. Once on board ship, within a few days favourable winds brought him to the Oxhead Sandalwood Forest (gośīrṣa-candana-vana).
52. When, assisted by five hundred woodcutters, he began to chop down [the trees in] that divine sandalwood forest, which was inhabited by multitudes of serpents,
53. Then the commander of the yakṣa armies, who was known as Maheśvara, angrily loosed a terrifying hurricane called 'Black Death' (Kālika).
54. Their lives put in danger by that great wind, all those merchants cried out to Śiva, Indra and the other gods.
55. Bhavila, leader of that merchant company, reflected at length, then, filled with remorse, addressed his fellows as they were crying out in distress –
56. "Some time ago, my younger brother Pūrṇa, desiring what is best for me, said, 'Why must you set out upon that ocean where there is much difficulty and little happiness?'
57. "But because I heeded not the words of that wise man who had seen the truth, I have fallen, due to my greed for wealth, into this terrifying ocean of calamity."
58. When they had heard this, all those merchants concentrated their minds on Pūrṇa's renowned supernormal powers and went for refuge to him alone –
59. "Homage to you, who remove the sins, the poisons and the defilements (kleśa-viṣa-doṣa) of the world! Homage to Pūrṇa, whose mind brims with the nectar of the compassion he has generated!"
60. When the air was quite filled with the sound of their voices, crying out as one, Pūrṇa went at once to the deities he commanded (svadevatāḥ) and informed them of what had transpired.
61. In Śroṇāparāntaka, once he had learned of their plight, Pūrṇa, preparing himself by deep concentration,[7] [flew] through the air and reached their vessel in an instant.
62. Seated in a cross-legged meditation posture, unshakable as Mount Meru, Pūrṇa diverted the course of that hurricane which raged [like the wind] at the dissolution of the universe.
63. Knowing that Pūrṇa had blocked the wind, the commander of the yakṣa horde begged his pardon and departed, leaving the sandalwood forest to the merchants.
64. Then the delighted Bhavila, having acquired the sandal-trees through Pūrṇa's favour,[8] set out with him for Śūrpāraka, their native city.
65. With his brother's approval, Pūrṇa used the oxhead sandalwood to build in Śūrpāraka a grand edifice called the Sandalwood Pavilion,[9] suitable for the Well-Gone One.
66. Pūrṇa meditated upon the Lord who quickly came to Śūrpāraka from the Jeta Grove, flying over a hundred leagues (yojana) through the air.
67. As the Lord approached, the radiance of his body illuminated the entire world, which glowed as if transformed into gold.
68. On catching sight of him, the matrons who resided on the outskirts of the city, with

intense [but] serene faith [arisen in their] minds, awaited [his arrival] in tranquil expectancy.

69. In an exposition of great skilfulness[10] the Lord taught the Truths to those lovely women who [themselves] attained skilfulness [in those Truths] as well as freedom from the round of rebirth.
70. Aided by the Lord's psychic powers, there those women built a relic shrine (caitya) called the Townswomen's (paurāṅganā) Shrine and to this day those who are given to the worship of shrines worship there.
71. Performing the favour of ordination for Valkalin and [other] sages, the Lord imparted to them a pure exposition of Dharma.
72. Then, entering the Sandalwood Pavilion, the Lord, the Conqueror, transformed it into crystal so as to accommodate the multitude of people there assembled.
73. Seated there upon a jewelled throne, [the Buddha], that great reservoir of compassion, expounded [the doctrine] of Nirvāṇa that all beings might attain final peace (śānti).
74. Meanwhile, two lords among sages, Kṛṣṇa and Gautama, accompanied by their disciples, came in order to hear the Dharma and received the Teacher's teaching.
75. Then, having accepted the Pavilion as a gift, the Lord, accompanied by his monks, ascended into the air and departed for the Jeta Grove.
76. [En route], he visited Maudgalyāyana's mother, who dwelt in the Mārīci world, and by his true speech set her on the path of Dharma [on which lies] the Holy Truths (āryasatya).
77. Then, when the Lord had reached the Jeta Grove, the monks, astonished, questioned him about Pūrṇa's merit (puṇya). He told them –
78. "Long ago, in another birth, Pūrṇa served the Order (saṃghopasthāyaka) as an official in a monastery (vihārādhikṛta) of the Fully Awakened One, Kāśyapa.
79. "On one occasion, when he saw that the monastery grounds had not been swept, he spoke with intense anger to the monk who was the superintendent (pravrajitam upadhivārikam).
80. "He reviled him, saying, 'In this spot the monastery [grounds] have not been swept! What arrogant slave-girl's son has the duty of superintendent (upadhivāra) today?'
81. "As a result of that sin of harsh speech (pāruṣyapāpa), Pūrṇa suffered an evil rebirth in hell after which he was reborn five hundred times the son of a slave-girl.
82. [Nevertheless], because it was very great, his service to the Order made for much merit, as a result of which he attained arhatship (arhattva), free from all defilements and from any further rebirth (niḥśeṣabhavakleśojjhita)."
83. In this way Pūrṇa's great power (prabhāva), brought about by his accumulation of merit, was explained by the Conqueror. And having listened, in the assembly, to this wonder (adbhuta), the Order of Monks became devoted to the praise of that merit.

Notes

1 Avadānakalpalatā (ed. Das-Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1888–1918) I 888–909; (ed. Vaidya 1959b) I 233–238. Although both

published editions give the title as Avadānakalpalatā, I have followed the example of J.W. de Jong and other scholars by adopting the title used in the manuscript colophons.

2 paryantavāsare could also mean 'on the day of [his] end (i.e., death)', but see verse 24 below.

3 strīmantradattakarṇāṇām, 'their ears given to the counsel of their wives.'

4 Or, 'to those seeking wealth' (arthinām).

5 tyaktvā sarvaparicchadam could also mean 'got rid of all his possessions.'

6 Read brahmacaryāṃ carepsitām for brahmacaryāṃ carepsitam?

7 samādhisaṃnaddhaḥ, 'girt in concentration' – the analogy is to a warrior strapping on armour and taking up weapons.

8 pūrṇaprasādāt can also mean 'due to his faith in Pūrṇa.'

9 cakre candanamālākhyaṃ prāsādam: here the term prāsāda appears to subsume the senses of both 'monastic residence' (vihāra) and 'temple.'

10 kuśala means 'clever, skilful' in respect of mental states and understanding of the Buddhist truths; it also refers to moral qualities and the moral quality of actions which proceed from such states; hence its simultaneous meaning of 'virtuous' and '[karmically] meritorious', in which sense it is a synonym of puṇya (see ED, s.v. kuśala and PED, s.v. kusala).

Appendix Four

Anāthapiṇḍada, Pūrṇa and Koṭikarṇa in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya[1]

Translated by Mark Dennis[2] and Joseph Dennis[3]

The Buddha was staying in the Śītavana in Rājagṛha. At that time, in the city there was a householder named Yü-ch'ien.[4] He was from a powerful clan the wealth of which was immeasurable. Yü-ch'ien had heard that the Tathāgata had appeared in the world and was staying in the Śītavana. He bounded with delight and wanted to invite the Buddha and his monks for a feast. In a splendid hall, he sprinkled [water] and swept and polished the floor.

At that time, in Śrāvastī there was a householder named Anāthapiṇḍada. For a long time, he and Yü-ch'ien had been particularly close friends. Anāthapiṇḍada came to Yü-ch'ien's house, where he saw hurried activity and intent sweeping. Anāthapiṇḍada asked about it, saying, "Householder, what is the reason for this hurried activity? Are you going to give a daughter in marriage or take [another] wife? Are you going to invite a Brahmin? Do you plan to invite a prince or a respected minister? Yü-ch'ien answered, "I am not going to give a daughter in marriage or take a wife, nor am I going to invite a Brahmin, prince or respected minister. Haven't you heard? Śuddodhana's son has taken up the religious life and become a Buddha. He is known to be a Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Perfectly and Fully Awakened One (samyaksaṃbuddha) and has come forth [as a teacher] in this world. He is now [staying] in the Śītavana. I am just about to receive the Buddha and his monks. For this reason there is hurried activity."

When Anāthapiṇḍada heard [this], his heart [filled with] great joy. He inquired: "I wish to visit and worship him. Is it possible to gain an audience?" Yü-ch'ien replied, "That is possible. The Buddha's beneficent glow shines upon all, [so those in his] presence cannot but benefit. You should know that this is a good time." Having heard these words, with a reverent heart, Anāthapiṇḍada anxiously awaited the dawn's rays.

That night, the Buddha, who had illuminated Anāthapiṇḍada's heart, cast a light that illuminated the entire city. Anāthapiṇḍada, seeing this light and thinking it was dawn, arose and set out. The gate opened of its own accord. He then went toward the city gate, which also opened. Having gone out the gate, [he came upon] a Brahmanical temple near the side of the road. He wished first to worship [there], and afterward to visit the Buddha. He turned and went toward the temple gate. Thereupon, darkness again befell heaven and earth. He became [too] terrified to proceed or to turn back. Bewildered, he did not know which way to turn. At that time, a deity appeared in the sky and told

Anāthapiṇḍada, "Now is the correct time, just go and do not be afraid." The deity then chanted these verses:

> One hundred ox and horse carts, all ornamented with the seven treasures, if all were brought as offerings,
> The merit of this would not amount to even the sixteenth [portion] of a single stride [forward].
> One hundred dragons and elephants of the Snowy Mountains also ornamented with the seven treasures, if brought and offered,
> The blessed reward of this meritorious deed would not amount to even the sixteenth [portion] of a single stride [forward].
> One hundred congenial beauties, adorned in necklaces of the seven treasures, if brought and offered,
> The blessed reward of this would not amount to even the sixteenth [portion] of a single stride [forward].

On hearing these verses, Anāthapiṇḍada's reverence and faith redoubled. Later, [Anāthapiṇḍada] went before the Buddha, worshipped [his] feet with his forehead, and went off to one side.

The Buddha then preached the Dharma, expounding its benefits and joys.

Anāthapiṇḍada then said to the Buddha, "Blessed One, I wish to return to Śrāvastī and establish a spiritual abode and invite you and your monks. Blessed One, please deign to accept my invitation, and also please send one monk to manage [this undertaking]." This is explained further in the Pilo Sūtra.[5]

Thereupon, the Buddha instructed Śāripūtra and Maudgalyāyana: "You two go there and examine the site, determine if it is suitable for a monks' residence, arrange materials, and manage the construction of the buildings." Śāripūtra and Maudgalyāyana received these instructions and went there. At that time, the householder Anāthapiṇḍada had purchased land for 180 million gold pieces, built living quarters for the monks [at a cost of] 180 million gold pieces, and made provision for the monks' living expenses [at the cost of another] 180 million gold pieces. In all, he spent 540 million gold pieces.[6]

Then this householder, because he wanted to further supply the monks, sent Pūrṇa out on the ocean to collect treasures. Because of the Buddha's awe-inspiring presence and the deities' concern, the Four Deva Kings, Indra, and Brahma protected this man. Pūrṇa set out and returned seven times. He collected many treasures, and did not experience difficulties.

Pūrṇa then said to Anāthapiṇḍada, "Please, householder, allow me to take up the religious life." Anāthapiṇḍada immediately gave his permission, and led him to the Buddha. [They] worshipped [the Buddha's] feet with their foreheads and went off to one side. Anāthapiṇḍada said to the Buddha, "This man wishes to take up the religious life. Please, Blessed One, have pity; ordain and liberate him." The Buddha ordained Pūrṇa. Having renounced the world, Pūrṇa said to the Buddha, "Blessed One, please expound concisely the teachings for me. I wish to go to Śroṇāparāntaka and practise according to

[your] teachings." The Buddha instructed Pūrṇa in accordance with his capacity. This is discussed more fully in the Pūrṇa Sūtra.[7]

Having received the teachings, Pūrṇa went to Śroṇāparāntaka. In that land, there was an eminent man named T'a p'o,[8] who was building a sandalwood chamber. This [account] explains the connection with Koṭikarṇa. Thereupon, Koṭikarṇa requested that Pūrṇa grant him permission to take up the religious life. Pūrṇa allowed Koṭikarṇa to do so and conferred on him the lower ordination.[9] For the next seven years it was not possible to assemble a quorum of monks, and thus Koṭikarṇa did not receive full ordination. After seven years, T'a-P'o completed building and decorating the sandalwood chamber and set out a pious feast. He gave the chamber to Pūrṇa. At that time, [among the] assembled monks there were ten who were thoroughly versed in the Vinaya. Since there was now a valid assembly, Pūrṇa conferred the higher ordination on Koṭikarṇa. After receiving this ordination, Koṭikarṇa said to the monk Pūrṇa, "I wish to travel to Śrāvastī to pay my respects to the Blessed One. Please grant this request."

Pūrṇa replied, "As you wish. Proceed in my name and pay your respects to the Blessed One. Also, [on my behalf] humbly make five requests. Koṭikarṇa, having received Pūrṇa's instructions, travelled to see the Buddha. Koṭikarṇa worshipped [the Buddha's feet with his head], and sat down to one side. The Buddha said, "Ānanda, spread out the bedding for the guest monk."

[Now] if it is the case that the Buddha instructs Ānanda to spread out the bedding, then one knows that the guest is to spend the night in the same room with the Buddha. But if it is the case that the Buddha instructs the Venerable Darba Mallapūtra [to spread out the bedding], then one knows that the guest is to spend the night in the adjoining room.

In the early evening, the Tathāgata expounded the Dharma to all the disciples (śrāvakas). In the middle of the evening, he returned to his room; as always, his halo was shining. The Buddha asked the monk Koṭikarṇa, "Would you chant a sūtra?"

Koṭikarṇa replied, "I will chant [one]."

[The Buddha asked], "Which sūtra?"

Koṭikarṇa replied, "The Sūtra of the Eight."[10]

The Buddha said, "You may chant it."

After Koṭikarṇa had finished softly chanting, the Buddha questioned [him] about the meaning of the words. Koṭikarṇa was able to respond correctly to each question. The Buddha exclaimed, "Well done, monk! [Your explanation] of both word and meaning are in accord with my teachings."

At that time, the Blessed One recited a verse:

The holy one does not rejoice in evil, the evil one does not rejoice in holiness.
When the defilements of the world are seen, the mind opens toward Nirvāṇa.

The Buddha [then] exclaimed, "Isn't it good! Among my disciples, Koṭikarṇa is the quickest [to attain] liberation and enlightenment. Koṭikarṇa stood and worshipped the Buddha's feet with his forehead. In the name of the monk [Pūrṇa], Koṭikarṇa made the

five requests to the Buddha. The Buddha listened to these words. At dawn the Buddha arose and went to the assembly of monks. He laid down a cushion and sat upon it. The Buddha addressed the assembly of monks: "Pūrṇa is in Śroṇāparāntaka, and he has sent Koṭikarṇa here to make five requests of me. From this day forward, I grant [the monks of] Śroṇāparāntaka these five requests. What are the five? First, to maintain cleanliness: if it pleases [a monk living in Śroṇāparāntaka to do so], I permit him to bathe daily. Here, however, [bathing is permitted] only once a fortnight. Second, the land of Śroṇāparāntaka is rocky, uneven, and covered with thorny trees. I permit monks living there to add a second layer of leather to their sandals. Here, however, only one layer [is permitted]. Third, Śroṇāparāntaka is short of bedding materials, but has much leather. [Therefore], I permit monks living there to use leather as bedding material. Here, however, [the use of leather] is not permitted. Fourth, the land of Śroṇāparāntaka lacks adequate clothing, but there are many garments left by the deceased. I allow the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka to wear these garments. Here also I permit this. Fifth, in Śroṇāparāntaka there are few [fully ordained] monks. Therefore [in Śroṇāparāntaka] I will allow a quorum of only five [qualified] monks to confer full ordination. Here, however, ten [qualified] monks are required."

Notes

1 Mo-ho-seng-ch'i lü. T 1425, chüan 23: vol. XXII, pp. 415a29–416a21. A composite narrative, which combines (1) the traditional account of Ānāthapiṇḍada's first meeting with the Buddha, his conversion and donation of the Jetavana Monastery with (2) the story of Koṭikarṇa's visit to the Buddha to which are added (3) elements of the Pūrṇa-legend familiar from the Pūrṇāvadāna. Parallel sources: (1) Theravādin: Vin ii.154–159 (Cullavagga VI.4.1–10), tr. VT III 179–189. Mūlasarvāstivādin: Śayanāsanavastu (ed. Gnoli 1978) 14–26; repeated verbatim in Saṅghabhedavastu (ed. Gnoli 1977–78) i.166 ff.; (3) Divyāvadāna I; Lévi (1915) has studied all the Vinaya versions; additional bibliography and discussion, Lamotte 1944–80: I 546–547 n. 3. Only the Mahāsāṃghika account combines these three narrative elements, which elsewhere form quite separate accounts.

2 Ph.D. candidate, Buddhist Studies Program, Department of South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin–Madison.

3 Graduate student, Department of History, University of Minnesota.

4 We are unable to suggest an Indic equivalent for this name. In the Theravāda Vinaya (Mahāvagga VI.4.1), he is simply called 'the seṭṭhi of Rājagaha'; in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (Śayanāsanavastu ed. Gnoli 1978: 13.14–15 ff.), he merely identifed as a wealthy householder (anyatamo gṛhapatir āḍhyo mahādhano mahābhogo, etc).

5 We are unable to suggest an Indic equivalent for this title.

6 That is, thrice 18 crores for a total of 54 crores (1 crore =10 million).

7 Presumably a Mahāsāṃghika text very close to Saṃyuktāgama (Tsa-a-han T 99), chüan 13: vol. II, pt. 2, p. 89bl–c23 or MN iii.267–270.

8 Lévi (1915: 410) identifies T'a p'o with Bhava, Pūrṇa's father in the Pūrṇāvadāna. However, to mention only one of several obvious discrepancies, in the Pūrṇāvadāna, Bhava dies long before the construction of the Sandalwooud Pavilion is begun. Nor is it clear that the Chinese characters transliterated by T'a p'o mean Bhava; in other Chinese Buddhist texts, they correspond to the Sanskrit gandharva. Could T'a p'o be an abbreviated transliteration of 'Thapakarṇi'? In the Mahāvastu (i.245–246, tr. I 200–201), a Lokottaravāda-Mahāsāṃghika text, the Venerable Pūrṇaka, who dwells on Mount Tuṇḍaturika, rescues from a sea-monster 500 merchants led by a man called both Thapakarṇi and Stavakarṇika. This episode has the appearance of a more 'primitive' version of Pūrṇa rescuing Bhavila in the Pūrṇāvadāna. Avadānaśataka ii.166.6–8 (tr. Feer 404) states that Stavakarṇika invited the Buddha to Śūrpāraka, while Buddhacarita XXI.22–23 (tr. Johnson [1935–37] 1984, Pt. III, pp. 56–57) states that the Buddha visited Śūrpāraka, where he instructed the merchant Stavakarṇin, who then "started to build for the Best of Seers a sandalwood Vihāra, which was ever odorous and touched the sky."

9 Literally, 'made him a śramaṇera.'

10 Sanskrit: Aṣṭavarga Sūtra. In other versions of this episode, it is the Arthavarga or Arthavargīya Sūtra(s); in Pāli, it is

the Aṭṭhavaggika Suttas (Sutta-nipāta IV: verses 766–975). For comparison of the various versions, see Lévi 1915: 412 ff.

Bibliography

Adikaram, E.W. 1946. Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena.

Agrawala, V.S. 1966. "Some Obscure Words in the Divyāvadāna," Journal of the American Oriental Society 86, no.2, pp. 67–75.

Alter, Robert. 1981. The Art of Biblical Narrative. New York: Basic Books.

Andersen, Dines, Smith, Helmer et al, ed. 1924-. A Critical Pāli Dictionary. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. Vol. 1, 1924–48; vol. 2, 1960–90; vol. 3, 1992–.

Andersen, Dines & Smith, Helmer, ed. 1913. The Suttanipāta. London: Pali Text Society.

Apte, V. S. 1957. The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Revised and Enlarged Ed. Poona: Prasad Prakashan. Repr. Kyoto: Rinsen Book 1978.

Auboyer, Jeannine. 1965. Daily Life in India from Approximately 200 B.C. to 700 A.D. Tr. Simon Watson. New York: Macmillan.

Bagchi, S., ed. 1967. Mūlasarvāstivādavinayavastu. 2 vols. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 16. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.

Bailey, D.R.. Shackleton 1950–51. "Notes on the Divyāvadāna," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, vol. 82, pp. 166–184; vol. 83, pp. 82–102.

Banerjee, A.C. 1957. Sarvāstivāda Literature. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.

Bareau, André. 1974. "La jeunesse du Buddha dan les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens," Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extême-Orient 61, pp. 199–274.

Bareau, André. 1963. Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens: de la quète de l'Éveil à la conversion de śāriputra et de Maudgalyāyana. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient LIII. Paris: École Française d'Extême-Orient.

Basham, A.L. 1967. The Wonder that was India. 3rd ed. London: Sidgewick and Jackson. Repr. 1985.

Bays, Gwendolyn, tr. 1983. The Voice of the Buddha: The Beauty of Compassion [Lalitavistara]. 2 vols. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing.

Beal, Samuel. 1884. Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World. London. Repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981.

Bechert, Heinz, ed. 1985–87. Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literature. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse Dritte Folge Nrs. 149, 154: Symposium zur Buddhismusforschung III, 1 & 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Bendall, Cecil, ed. 1897–1902. Śikṣāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhist Teaching Compiled by Śāntideva. Bibliotheca Buddhica I. St. Petersberg. Repr. Motilal Banarsidass, 1992.

Bendall, Cecil. 1883. Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge. Cambridge: The University Press.

Bongard-Levin, G.M. & Volkova, O.F., ed.-tr. 1965. The Kuṇāla Legend and an Unpublished Aśokāvadānamālā Manuscript. Calcutta: Indian Studies Past and Present.

Bruner, Jerome. 1986. Actual Minds, Possible Worlds. Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press.

Burlingame, Eugene Watson, tr. 1922. Buddhist Parables. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press. Repr. Buddhist Traditions 13. Delhi: M. Banarsidass, 1991.

Burlingame, Eugene Watson, tr. 1921. Buddhist Legends Translated from the Original Pāli Text of the Dhammapada Commentary. 3 vols. Harvard Oriental Series 28–30. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Repr. London: Pali Text Society, 1979.

van Buitenen, J.A.B., tr. 1973–78. The Mahābhārata. Books I–V. 3 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burnouf, Eugène. 1876. Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien. 2nd ed. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie. First pub. Paris, 1844.

Chandra, Moti. 1977. Trade and Trade-Routes in Ancient India. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.

Charpentier, J. 1927. "1. Śūrpāraka. 2. Vitastā-Hydaspes," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 111–115.

Chaudhary, Angraj, ed. 1976. Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā Paramatthadīpanī. 2 vols. Nālandā, Bihar: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

Chaudhary, Angraj, ed. 1974–75. Suttanipāta-Aṭṭhakathā. 2 vols. Nālandā, Bihar: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra

Chaudhury, B.N. 1969. Buddhist Centres in Ancient India. Calcutta: Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Chavannes, Edouard, tr. 1910–1934. Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois. 4 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
Ch'en, Kenneth K.S. 1953. "Apropos the Meṇḍhaka Story," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 16, pp. 374–403.
Ch'en, Kenneth K.S. 1947. "A Study of the Svāgata Story in the Divyāvadāna in its Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan and Chinese Versions," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 9, nos. 3–4, pp. 207–314.
Chopra, Tilak Raj. 1990. "BHS triyantara and Hindi teṃtara: Notes on a Folk-Belief in the Mahāvastu and Some Other Buddhist Sanskrit Texts," ed. H. Eimer, Frank-Richard Hamm Memorial Volume, Indica et Tibetica 21, Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, pp. 19–46.
Collins, Steven. 1998. Nirvāṇa and other Buddhist Felicities. Cambridge Studies in Religious Traditions 12. Cambridge: The University Press.
Collins, Steven. 1982. Selfless Persons: Imagery and Thought in Theravāda Buddhism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Contractor, K.Y. 1957. "Light on New Archaeological Finds near Sopara," Journal of the Gujerat Research Society 19, p. 47.
Conze, Edward, tr. 1975. The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines and Its Verse Summary. Bolinas, Calif.: The Four Seasons Foundation.
Conze, Edward. 1967. Buddhist Thought in India. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. First British edition, London 1962.
Coomaraswamy, Ananda. 1928–31. Yakṣas. Repr. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971.
Cowell, E.B. et al, tr. 1895. The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births. 6 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Repr. in 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1981.
Cowell, E.B. & Neil, R.A., ed. 1886. The Divyāvadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends. Cambridge: The University Press.
Cutler, Sally Mellick. 1994. "The Pāli Apadāna Collection," Journal of the Pali Text Society XX, pp. 1–42.
Dās, Sarat Chandra. 1902. Tibetan-English Dictionary. Calcutta. Repr. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1988.
Dās, Sarat Chandra. & Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Hari Mohan, ed. 1888–1918. Avadāna-Kalpalatā. 2 vols. Calcutta: Bibliotheca Indica.
Dayal, Har. 1932. The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.
Doniger, Wendy with Smith, Brian. K., tr. 1991. The Laws of Manu. London: Penguin Books.
Duroiselle, Charles. 1904. "Notes sur la géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie à propos de la légende de Pūrna," Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 5, pp. 146–167.
Dutt, Sukumar. 1962. Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India. London: George Allen & Unwin.
Dutt, Sukumar. 1957. Buddha and Five After-Centuries. London: Luzac.
Dutt, Nalinākṣa & Sharma, Shiv Nath, eds. 1942–50. Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III (Mūlasarvāstivādavinayavastu), Parts 1–4. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies LXXI. Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Press.
Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. 2 vols. London: Yale University Press. Repr. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1985.
Fa-hien. 1886. A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms. Tr. James Legge. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1965.
Fausbøll, V., ed. 1877–97. The Jātaka Together with Its Commentary. 7 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. Repr. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1990.
Feer, Léon, tr. 1901. "Le Karma-çataka" Journal asiatique, 9e série, tome XVII, pp. 53–100, 257–315, 410–486.
Feer, Léon, tr. 1891. Avadāna-çataka: Cent légendes bouddhiques. Annales du Musée Guimet XVIII. Paris: Ernest Leroux. Repr. Amsterdam: APA-Oriental Press, 1979.
Feer, Léon, ed. 1884–98. The Saṃyutta-Nikāya. London: Pali Text Society.
Feer, Léon, tr. 1883. Fragments extraits du Kandjour. Annales du Muśee Guimet V. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
Feer, Léon. 1879. "Etudes bouddhiques: le livre des cent légendes (Avadāna-çataka)" Journal asiatique, 7e série, t. XIV (août–sept.): 141–189, 273–307.
Finot, Louis. 1917. "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne," Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 17, pp. 1–218.
Frauwallner, Erich. 1956. The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature. Serie Orientale Roma VIII. Roma: Istituto Italiano per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
Frye, Stanley, tr. 1981. Sūtra of the Wise and Foolish (mdo bdzans blun) or The Ocean of Narratives (üliger-ündalai). Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
Geiger, Wilhelm & Bode, Mabel H., tr. 1912. The Gerat Chronicle of Ceylon (Mahāvaṃsa). London: Pali Text Society.
Geiger, Wilhelm, ed. 1908. The Mahāvamsa. London: Pali Text Society.
Glover, I.C. 1996. "Recent Archaeological Evidence for Early Maritime Contacts between India and Southeast Asia," ed.

Himanshu Prabha Ray & Jean-François Salles, Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean, New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 129–158.
Gnoli, Raniero, ed. 1977–78. The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu: Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin. Serie Orientale Roma XLIX, 1–2. Roma: Istituto Italiano per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
Gnoli, Raniero, ed. 1978. The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu: Being the 15th and 16th Sections of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin. Serie Orientale Roma L. Roma: Istituto Italiano per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
Godakumbura, C.E., ed. 1954. Visuddhajanavilāsinī nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā. London: Pali Text Society.
Gombrich, Richard F. 1996. How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings. School of Oriental and African Studies: Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion XVII. London & Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Athlone Press.
Gombrich, Richard F. 1992. "The Buddha's Book of Genesis?," Indo-Iranian Journal 35: 179–191.
Hahn, Michael. 1993. "Notes on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature: Chronology and Related Topics," ed. Egaku Mayeda, Studies in Original Buddhism and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Commemoration of the Late Professor Dr. Fumimaro Watanabe [Watanabe Fumimaro hakushi tsuitô ronshû: Genshi bukkyô to daijô bukkyô], Kyoto. Offprint supplied by courtesy of the author.
Hahn, Michael. 1992. Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra on the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamālās. Second Revised Edition. Studia Philologica Buddhica Occasional Paper Series I. Tokyo: International Institute of Buddhist Studies.
Hahn, Michael, ed.-tr. 1990. " Puṇyaraśyavadāna – Another Legend by Gopadatta?," ed. H. Eimer, Frank-Richard Hamm Memorial Volume, Indica et Tibetica 21, Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, pp. 103–132.
Hahn, Michael, ed. 1985. Der Grosse Legendenkranz (Mahajjātakamālā). Asiatische Forschungen Band 88. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
Handurukande, Ratna, ed. 1988. The Supriyasārthavāhajātaka. Indica et Tibetica 15. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
Handurukande, Ratna, ed.-tr. 1984. Five Buddhist Legends in the Campū Style from a Collection Named Avadānasārasamuccaya. Indica et Tibetica 4. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
Handurukande, Ratna. 1978. "The Benefit of Caitya Worship," ed. L. Prematilleke, K. Indrapala, J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume, Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 75–77.
Handurukande, Ratna, ed.-tr. 1967. Maṇicūḍāvadāna. Sacred Books of the Buddhists XXIV. London: Luzac for the Pali Text Society.
Hirakawa, Akira. 1990. A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna. Ed.-tr. Paul Groner [from Indo Bukkyôshi I, Tokyo: Shinjūsha, 1974]. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Hirakawa, Akira. 1960. Ritsuzô no kenkyū ['A Study of the Vinaya-piṭaka']. Tokyo: Sankibô Busshorin.
Hofinger, Marcel, ed.-tr. 1982–90. Le Congrès du Lac Anavatapta (Vies de Saints Bouddhiques): Extrait du Vinaya des Mūlasarvāstivādin Bhaiṣajyavastu. Tome I: Légendes des Anciens (Sthavirāvadāna). Tome II: Légendes du Bouddha (Buddhāvadāna) Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste/Peeters Press.
Horner, I.B., tr. 1975. The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon Part III: Chronicle of Buddhas (Buddhavaṃsa) and Basket of Conduct (Cariyāpiṭaka). London: Pali Text Society.
Horner, I.B. & Gehman, H.S., tr. 1974. The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon Part IV: Vimānavatthu, Stories of the Mansions and Petavatthu, Stories of the Departed. London: Pali Text Society.
Horner, I.B., tr. 1964. Milinda's Questions. 2 vols. Sacred Books of the Buddhists 22–23. London: Pali Text Society.
Horner, I.B., tr. 1954–59. The Book of the Middle-Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya). 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
Horner, I.B., tr. 1938–66. The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka). 6 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
Horner, I.B. 1930. Women under Primitive Buddhism. London. Repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975, 1990.
Horner, I.B., Woods J.H., Kosambi, D., ed. 1922–38. Papañcasūdanī Majjhimani-kāyaṭṭhakathā of Buddhaghosācariya. 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
Huber, Edouard, tr. 1908. Sūtrālaṃkāra. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
Huber, Edouard. 1906. "Les sources du Divyāvadāna," Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extême-Orient 6, pp. 1–37.
Ishihama, Yumiko & Fukuda, Yoichi, ed. 1989. A New Critical Edition of the Mahāvyutpatti. Studia Tibetica 16. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko.
I-Tsing. 1896. A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695). Tr. J. Takakusu. London: Clarendon Press. Repr. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966, 1982.
Iwamoto, Yutaka. 1978. Bukkyô setsuwa kenkyū josetsu ['An Introduction to the Study of Buddhist Legends']. Tokyo: Kaimei Shoin.
Iwamoto, Yutaka, ed.-tr. 1968. Sumāgadhāvadāna. Kyoto: Kozokan-Verlag.
Iwamoto, Yutaka, ed. 1964. "Sumāgadhāvadāna," Acta Asiatica 7, pp. 1–19.

Iwamoto, Yutaka, ed. 1959. "Sumāgadhāvadāna," Proceedings of the Faculty of Letters, Tokai University , vol. 1 (March), pp. 1–51.
Jayawickrama, N.A. 1990. The Story of Gotama Buddha (Jātaka-nidāna). Oxford: Pali Text Society. First pub. 1951.
Jayawickrama, N.A., ed. 1977. Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu. London: Pali Text Society.
Johnston, E.H., ed.-tr. 1984. The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha. 3 parts in 1 vol. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. Pt. 1 (ed. I–XIV) first pub. 1935; Pt. 2 (tr. I–XIV) first pub. 1936; Pt. 3 (tr. XV–XXVIII) first pub. 1937.
Johnson, E.H., ed.-tr. 1928–32. Saundarananda or Nanda the Fair. 2 vols. Panjab University Oriental Publications 14. London: Oxford University Press.
Jones, John Garrett. 1979. Tales and Teachings of the Buddha. London: George Allen & Unwin.
Jones, J.J., tr. 1949–56. The Mahāvastu. 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
de Jong, J.W., ed. 1979. "The Sanskrit Text of the Ṣaḍḍantāvadāna," Indologica Taurinensia 7, pt. 1, pp. 281–297.
Kangle, R.P., ed.-tr. 1965–72. The Kautīhya Arthaśāstra. 2nd ed. Bombay: University of Bombay. Repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988.
Kern, Heinrich, tr. 1884. The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law. Sacred Books of the East XXI. London: Oxford University Press.
Klaus, Konrad, ed.-tr. 1983. Das Maitrakanyakāvadāna (Divyāvadāna 38): Sanskrittext und deutsche Übersetzung. Indica et Tibetica 2. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
Kloppenborg, R. 1974. The Paccekabuddha: A Buddhist Ascetic. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
Lamotte, Étienne, tr. 1944–80. Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra). 5 vols. Louvain & Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste.
Lamotte, Étienne. 1988. History of Indian Buddhism from the Origins to the Śaka Era. Tr. Sara Webb-Boin. Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste. Original French edition pub. Louvain, 1958.
Lancaster, Lewis R. & Park, Sung-bae. 1979. The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue. Berkeley & London: University of California Press.
La Vallée Poussin, Louis de, tr. 1923–31. L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu. 6 vols. Paris and Louvain: Paul Geuthner.
Lévi, Sylvain, ed.-tr. 1932. Mahākarmavibhanga et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
Lévi, Sylvain. 1915. "Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques," Journal Asiatique, XIe série, tome VIII (mai-juin), pp. 401–447.
Lévi, Sylvain. 1907. "Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna," Toung-p'ao, série II, tome VIII, no. 1, pp. 105–122.
Lilley, Mary E., ed. 1925–27. The Apadāna of the Khuddanikāya. 2 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
Lin, Li-Kouang. 1949. L'Aide-mémoire de la vraie loi (Saddharma-Smṛtyupasthāna-Sūtra). Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient (Adrien Maisonneuve).
Lin, Li-Kouang, ed-tr. 1946–69–73. Dharmasamuccaya: Compendium de la Loi. Parts 1–3. Revised by André Bareau, J.W. de Jong and Paul Demiéville. Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études, Tomes 53, 68, 75. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve.
Lüders, Heinrich. 1926. Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikādes Kumarālāta. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte II. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.
Lüders, Heinrich. 1912. A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with the Exception of Those of Aśoka (Appendix to Epigraphia Indica X, 1909–10). Calcutta.
Mangvungh, Gindallian. 1990. Buddhism in Western India. Meerut & Jodhpur: Kusumanjali Prakashan.
Mayeda, Egaku. 1985. "Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas." In Bechert 1985–87: I 94–103.
McDermott, James. P. 1980. "Karma and Rebirth in Early Buddhism," ed. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 165–192.
Mills, Laurence. 1992. "The Case of the Murdered Monks," Journal of the Pali Text Society XVI, pp. 71–75.
Mitra, Rājendralāla. 1882. The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. 2nd rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Repr. Tokyo: Meicho Fukyukai, 1986.
Morris, R. & Hardy E., ed. 1885–1900. Aṅguttara-Nikāya. 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society. (Vol. 6, Index, by M. Hunt & C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 1910.)
Nagaraju, S. 1981. Buddhist Architecture of Western India. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.
Nakamura, Hajime. 1980. Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes. Kirakata, Japan: KUFS Publications.
Ñāṇamoli, Bhikkhu & Bodhi, Bhikkhu, tr. 1995. The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
Ñāṇamoli, Bhikkhu, tr. 1964. the Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga) by Bhandantācariya Buddhaghosa. 2nd ed. Colombo: A. Semage.
Narayan, Kirin. 1989. Storytellers, Saints, and Scoundrels: Folk Narrative in Hindu Religious Teaching. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Norman, H.C., ed. 1906–1915. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
Norman, K.R., tr. 1984. The Group of Discourses (Suttanipāta). London: Pali Text Society.
Norman, K.R. 1983. Pali Literature (= Jan Gonda, ed., History of Indian Literature VII, 2). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
Nyanaponika, Thera & Hecker, Hellmuth. 1997. Great Disciples of the Buddha: Their Lives, Their Works, Their Legacy. Ed. Bhikkhu Bodhi. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
Nyanaponika, Thera, tr. 1965. The Heart of Buddhist Meditation. New York: Samuel Wiser. First pub. London: Rider, 1962.
Okada, Mamiko, ed. 1993. Dvāviṃśatyavadānakathā. Indica et Tibetica 24. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
Oldenberg, Hermann. 1912. "The Prose-and-Verse Type of Narrative and the Jātakas," Journal of the Pali Text Society VI (1908–12), pp. 19–50.
Oldenberg, Hermann, ed. 1879–83. The Vinaya Piṭakam. 5 vols. London. Repr. London: Luzac for the Pali Text Society, 1964.
Oldenberg, Hermann, ed.-tr. 1879. The Dīpavaṃsa. London: Williams & Norgate.
d'Oldenburg, Serge. 1893. "On the Buddhist Jātakas," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, vol. XXV.
Peiris, Noeyal. 1962. Sopara: International Buddhist Cultural Centre of Emperor Asoka. Ratmalana, Ceylon: International Society of Buddhist Culture.
Pradhan, Prahlad, ed. 1950. The Abhidharmasamuccaya of Asaṅga. Viśva-Bharati Studies 12. Santiniketan.
Prasad, Nand Kishore, ed. 1976. Manorathapūraṇī (Aṅguttaranikāya-Aṭṭhakathā). 3 vols. Nālandā, Bihar: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra.
Prebish, Charles S. 1994. A Survey of Vinaya Literature. Dharma Lamp Series I. Taipei: Jin Luen Publishing House.
Pruitt, William, tr. 1998. The Commentary on the Verses of the Therīs. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
Pruitt, William, ed. 1997. The Therīgāthā Commentary. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
Przyluski, Jean. 1967. The Legend of Emperor Aśoka. Tr. [from Przyluski 1923] D.K. Biswas. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
Przyluski, Jean & Lalou, Marcelle. 1936. 'Récits populaires et contes bouddhiques', Journal Asiatique 228 (avril-juin), pp. 177–191.
Przyluski, Jean. 1932. "Sautrāntika et Dārṣṭāntika," Rocznik Orjentalistyczny VIII, 1931–32, pp. 14–24.
Przyluski, Jean. 1929. "Fables in the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādin School," Indian Historical Quarterly 5, pp. 1–5.
Przyluski, Jean. 1926–28. Le Concile de Rājagṛha: Introduction à l'histoire des canons et des sectes bouddhiques. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
Przyluski, Jean. 1923. La légende de l'empereur Açoka. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
Przyluski, Jean. 1920. 'La Roue de la vie à Ajaṇṭā', Journal Asiatique, XIe série, tome XVI (oct.-déc), pp. 313–331.
Przyluski, Jean. 1914. 'Le Nord-ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūlasarvāstivādin et les textes apparentés', Journal Asiatique, XIe série, tome IV (nov.-déc.), pp. 493–568.
Rahula, Walpola. 1971. Le Compendium de la super-doctrine (Abhidharmasamuccaya) d'Asaṅga. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 78. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
Rajapatirana, Tissa, ed.-tr. 1974. Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna, Translated and Edited together with its Tibetan Translation and the Lakṣacaityasamutpatti. Parts I–III. Ph.D. thesis, Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University.
Ray, Himanshu Prabha. 1986. Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Sātavāhanas. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Ray, Reginald A. 1994. Buddhist Saints in India: A Study in Buddhist Values & Orientations. New York: Oxford University Press.
Rhys Davids, C.A.F. 1909–13. Psalms of the Early Buddhists (Theratherīgāthā). 2 vols. London: Pali Text Society. Repr., 1965.
Rhys Davids, T.W. & Stede. William. 1921–25. The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary. London: Pali Text Society. Repr. 1986.
Rhys Davids, T.W. & Oldenberg, Hermann, trs. 1882–85. Vinaya Texts. Parts I–III. Sacred Books of the East XIII, XVII, XX. London: Oxford University Press. Repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.
Ricoeur, Paul. 1975. "Metaphor and the Main Problem of Hermeneutics," New Literary History 6 (1974–75), pp. 95–110.
Ricoeur, Paul. 1973. "Creativity in Language: Word, Polysemy, Metaphor," Philosophy Today 17, pp. 97–111.
Rockhill, W. Woodville, tr. 1884. The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Repr. Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Mandala Reprints, 1987.
Roy, Sita Ram, ed. 1971. The Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
Saṅgharakṣita, Bhikṣu. 1967. The Three Jewels. London: Rider. Repr. Purley, Surrey: Windhorse Publications, 1977.
Śāstrī, A.C. & Śāstrī A.R., ed. 1932. The Āpastambadharmasūtra with the Commentary 'Ujjvalā' by Śrī Haradatta Miśra. Kashi Sanskrit Series no. 93. Benares: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
Śāstrī, Haragovinda, ed. 1970. Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana or Amarakośa of Amarasiṃha with the Rāmāśramī Commentary of Bh

ānuji Dīkṣita. Kashi Sanskrit Series 198. Varanasi: Chowkamba Sanskrit Series Office.
Śāstrī, K.A. Nīlakaṇṭha. 1945. Gleanings on Social Life from the Avadānas. B.C. Law Research Series 1. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute.
Sastri, N.A., ed.-tr. 1975–78. Satyasiddhiśāstra of Harivarman. 2 vols. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 159, 165. Baroda: The Oriental Institute.
Sattar, Arshia, tr. 1994. Tales from the Kathāsaritsāgara. London: Penguin.
Schlingloff, Dieter. 1991. "Traditions of Indian Narrative Painting in Central Asia." In Akṣayanīvī: Essays Presented to Dr. Debaia Mitra in Admiration of Her Scholarly Contributions, Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica No. 88, ed. Gouriswar Bhattacharya, Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, pp. 163–169.
Schlingloff, Dieter. 1989. "Die Pūrṇa-Erzählung in Einer Kizil-Malerei," Zentralasiatische Studien 21 (1988), pp. 180–195.
Schlingloff, Dieter. 1982. "Aśoka or Māra? On the Interpretations of Some Sāñchī Reliefs," ed. L.A. Hercus, F.B.J. Kuiper, T. Rajapatirana, E.R. Skrzypczak, Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday, Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, pp. 441–456.
Schmithausen, Lambert. 1987. "Beiträge zur Schulzugehörigkeit und Textgeschichte kanonischer und postkanonischer buddhistischer Materialien," ed. Bechert 1985–87: II 305–406.
Schopen, Gregory. 1997. Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Senart, Émile. 1905. "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik," Epigraphia Indica VIII. Calcutta.
Senart, Émile, ed. 1882–97. Le Mahāvastu. 3 vols. Société Asiatique, Collection d'Ouvrages Orientaux, Seconde Série. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. Repr. Tokyo: Meicho Fukyukai, 1977.
Sircar, D.C. 1975. Inscriptions of Aśoka. 3rd ed. New Delhi.
Speyer, J.S., ed. 1902–08. Avadāna-Śataka: A Century of Edifying Tales Belonging to the Hīnayāna. 2 vols. Bibliotheca Buddhica, vol. III. St. Petersberg: Imperial Academy of Sciences. Repr. Indo-Iranian Reprints III. 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958.
Sternbach, Ludwik, ed. 1974. Mānavadharmaśāstra. Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust.
Strong, John S. 1992. The Legend and Cult of Upagupta: Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Strong, John S. 1985. "The Buddhist Avadānists and the Elder Upagupta," ed. Michel Strickmann, Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XXII, Bruxelles, pp. 862–881.
Strong, John S. 1983b. "Filial Piety and Buddhism: The Indian Antecedents to a 'Chinese' Problem," Traditions in Contact and Change, ed. Peter Slater and Donald Wiebe, Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, pp. 171–186.
Strong, John S. 1983a. The Legend of King Aśoka. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Strong, John S. 1979. 'The Transforming Gift: An Analysis of Devotional Acts of Offering in Buddhist Avadāna Literature', History of Religions 18, pp. 221–237.
Strong, John S. 1977. "Gandhakuṭī: The Perfumed Chamber of the Buddha," History of Religions 16: 390–406.
Sukthankar, Vishnu S. et al, ed. 1933–66. The Mahābhārata. 22 vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Takahata, Kanga, ed. 1954. Ratnamālāvadāna: A Garland of Precious Gems or, A Collection of Edifying Tales, Belonging to the Mahāyāna. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko Oriental Library.
Takakusu, J. & Watanabe, K., ed. 1924–34. Taishô shinshū daizôkyô ('New Taishô Era Edition of the Buddhist Canon']. 55 vols. Tokyo: Daishô Shuppan Company.
Tatelman, Joel. 1998b. "The Trials of Yaśodharā: A Translation of Bhadrakalpāvadāna II–III," Buddhist Literature I (in press).
Tatelman, Joel. 1998a. "The Trials of Yaśodharā and the Birth of Rāhula: A Synopsis of Bhadrakalpāvadāna II–IX," Buddhist Studies Review 15, no. 1, pp. 1–42.
Tatelman, Joel. 1997. The Trials of Yaśodharā: A Critical Edition, Annotated Translation and Study of Bhadrakalpāvadāna II–V. Parts I–II. D.Phil. thesis, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University.
Tatia, Nathmal, ed. 1976. Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 17. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
Thapar, Romila. 1973. Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas. 2nd ed. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Thapar, Romila. 1966. A History of India: Vol. I. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Thich, Minh Chau (Bhikṣu). 1964. The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya: A Comparative Study. Saigon. Repr. Buddhist Traditions Vol. XV, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991.
Thomas, Edward J., tr. 1950. The Quest of Enlightenment: A Selection of Buddhist Scriptures Translated from the Sanskrit. London: John Murray.
Thomas, Edward J. 1949. The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History. 3rd rev. ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Repr. 1975.

Thomas, Edward J. 1947. "Aśvaghoṣa and Alaṃkāra," Indian Culture 13, no. 3 (Jan.-Mar.), pp. 143–146.
Thurman, Robert A.F., tr. 1976. The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa). University Park & London: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Trenckner, V., Chalmers, R. & Rhys Davids, C.A.F., ed. 1888–1910. The Majjhima-Nikāya. London: Pali Text Society.
Vaidya, P.L., ed. 1961. Mahāyānasūtrasaṃgraha Part I. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 17. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.
Vaidya, P.L., ed. 1960. Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 6. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.
Vaidya, P.L., ed. 1959b. Avadānakalpalatā. 2 vols. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 22–23. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.
Vaidya, P.L., ed. 1959a. Divyāvadānam. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 20. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.
Vaidya, P.L., ed. 1958b. Lalitavistara. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 1. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.
Vaidya, P.L., ed. 1958a. Avadānaśatakam. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 19. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.
Vogel, J.Ph. 1926. Indian Serpent-Lore or the Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art. London: Probsthain.
Waldschmidt, Ernst, ed.-tr. 1953–56. Das Mahāvadānasūtra: ein kanonischer Text über die sieben letzten Buddhas. 2 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
Walshe, Maurice, tr. 1987. Thus Have I Heard: The Long Discourses of the Buddha. London: Wisdom Publications.
Walters, Jonathan. 1997. "Stūpa, Story, and Empire: Constructions of the Buddha Biography in Early Post-Aśokan India," ed. Juliane Schober, Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 160–192.
Warder, A.K. 1980. Indian Buddhism. 2nd ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
Warder, A.K. 1972–92. Indian Kāvya Literature. 6 vols. Delhi: M. Banarsidass.
Warren, Henry Clarke & Kosambi, Dharmananda, ed. 1950. Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosācariya. Harvard Oriental Series 41. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Warren, Henry Clarke, tr. 1896. Buddhism in Translations. Harvard Oriental Series III. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Repr. 1923.
Welbon, Guy. 1968. The Buddhist Nirvāṇna and its Western Interpreters. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Wellek, René & Warren, Austin. 1949. Theory of Literature. 3rd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Javonavich. Repr. 1963.
Wilson, Liz. 1996. Charming Cadavers: Horrific Figurations of the Feminine in Indian Buddhist Hagiographic Literature. Women in Culture and Society Series, ed. Catharine R. Stimpson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Winternitz, Maurice. 1930. "Avadānā, Apadāna," Journal of Taishô University 6–7, pp. 7–12 (= Kleine Schriften, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991, vol. II, pp. 839–844).
Winternitz, Maurice. 1927–33. A History of Indian Literature. 2 vols. Tr. S. Ketkar and H. Kohn. Revised by the author. Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press. Repr. New Delhi: Oriental Book Reprint Corp., 1972.
Willemen, Charles, tr. 1994. The Storehouse of Sundry Valuables. Translated from the Chinese of Kikkāya and Liu Hsiao-piao (Taishô, Volume 4, Number 203). BDK English Tripiṭaka 10–I. Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research.
Woodward, F.L., ed. 1929–37. Sāratthappakāsinī Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā of Buddhaghosācariya. 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
Woodward, F.L. & Rhys Davids, C.A.F., tr. 1917–30. The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-Nikāya). 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
Woodward, F.L. & Hare, E.M., tr. 1932–36. The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttara-Nikāya). 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society.
Woodward, Mark R. 1997. "The Biographical Imperative in Theravāda Buddhism," ed. Juliane Schober, Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 40–63.
Yazdani, G.. 1930–33. Ajaṇṭā: Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajaṇṭā Frescoes Based on Photography. 2 vols. London. Repr. Delhi: Swat Pub., 1982.
Yamada, Isshi, ed.-tr. 1968. Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka Sūtra. 2 vols. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Index